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The Archaeological Review.

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THE FINN-MEN OF BRITAIN.

I.

MANY readers of the *Archæological Review* are no doubt acquainted with an interesting series of papers on "Scottish, Shetlandic, and Germanic Water Tales",[1] in the course of which the writer, Mr. Karl Blind, remarks as follows:—

It is in the Shetland Tales that we hear a great deal of creatures partly more than human, partly less so, which appear in the interchangeable shape of men and seals. They are said to have often married ordinary mortals, so that there are, even now, some alleged descendants of them, who look upon themselves as superior to common people.

In Shetland, and elsewhere in the North, the sometimes animal-shaped creatures of this myth, but who in reality are human in a higher sense, are called *Finns*. Their transfiguration into seals seems to be more a kind of deception they practise. For the males are described as most daring boatmen, with powerful sweep of the oar, who chase foreign vessels on the sea. At the same time they are held to be deeply versed in magic spells and in the healing art, as well as in soothsaying. By means of a "skin" which they possess, the men and the women among them are able to change themselves into seals. But on shore, after having taken off the wrappage, they are, and behave like, real human beings. Anyone who gets hold of their protecting garment has the Finns in his power. Only by means of the skin can they go back to the water. Many a Finn woman has got into the power of a Shetlander, and borne children to him; but if the Finn woman succeeded in reobtaining her sea-skin, or seal-skin, she escaped across the water. Among the older generation in the northern isles persons are still sometimes heard of who boast of hailing from Finns; and they attribute to themselves a peculiar luckiness on account of that higher descent.

* * * * * * * *

Tales of the descent of certain families from water-beings of a

[1] Contributed to *The Contemporary Review* of 1881, and *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1882.

magic character are very frequent in the North. In Ireland such myths also occur sporadically. In Wales the origin from mermen or mermaids is often charged as a reproach upon unhappy people; and rows originate from such assertions.[1] In Shetland the reverse is, or was, the case. There the descendants of Finns have been wont to boast of their origin; regarding themselves as favourites of Fortune.

* * * * * * * *

But who are the Finns of the Shetlandic story? Are they simply a poetical transfiguration of finny forms of the flood? Or can the Ugrian race of the Finns, which dwells in Finland, in the high north of Norway, and in parts of Russia, have something to do with those tales in which a Viking-like character is unmistakable?

* * * * * * * *

Repeated investigations have gradually brought me to the conviction that the Finn or Seal stories contain a combination of the mermaid myth, with a strong historical element—that the Finns are nothing else than a fabulous transmogrification of those Norse "sea-dogs", who from eld have penetrated into the islands round Scotland, into Scotland itself, as well as into Ireland. "Old sea-dog" is even now a favourite expression for a weather-beaten, storm-tossed skipper—a perfect seal among the wild waves.

The assertion of a "higher" origin of still living persons from Finns would thus explain itself as a wildly legendary remembrance of the descent from the blood of Germanic conquerors. The "skin" wherewith the Finns change themselves magically into sea-beings I hold to be their armour, or coat of mail. Perhaps that coat itself was often made of seal-skin, and then covered with metal rings, or scales, as we see it in Norman pictures; for instance, on the Bayeux tapestry. The designation of Norwegian and Danish conquerors, in Old Irish history, as "scaly monsters", certainly fits in with this hypothesis.

* * * * * * * *

But however the Finn name may be explained etymologically, at all events Norway appears in the Shetland tales, and in the recollection of the people there, as the home of the "Finns". And this home—as I see from an interesting bit of folk-lore before me—is evidently in the south of Norway.

Before coming to this important point, I may mention a Shetlandic

[1] This traditional descent from a "water-being" forms a part of Mr. Gomme's instructive article on *Totemism in Britain*, at pp. 219-20 of the June number of this *Review*. But it is evident that one who holds the opinions expressed in the present article cannot view these special traditions in the same light as Mr. Gomme. The question of totemism, on which that writer is so great an authority, and is, in itself, so full of interest, would not, however, be substantially affected in the least degree, even if the "seal" descent could not be attributed to any other cause than that set forth in this paper.

spell-song [which] refers to the cure of the toothache ; the Finn appearing therein as a magic medicine-man :—

"A Finn came ow'r fa Norraway,
Fir ta pit töth-ache away—
Oot o' da flesh an' oot o' da bane ;
Oot o' da sinew an' oot o' da skane ;
Oot o' da skane an' into da stane ;
An dare may do remain !
An dare may do remain !
An dare may do remain !"

In this, though not strictly and correctly, alliterative song, the Finn is not an animal-shaped creature of the deep, but a man, a charm-working doctor from Norway. Presently we will, however, see that the Finns of the Shetlandic stories are martial pursuers of ships, to whom ransom must be paid in order to get free from them. This cannot apply to a mere marine animal or sea monster : for what should such a creature do with ransom-money? As to their animal form, Mr. George Sinclair writes :—

"Sea monsters are for most part called 'Finns' in Shetland. They have the power to take any shape of any marine animal, as also that of human beings. They were wont to *pursue boats at sea*, and it was dangerous in the extreme *to say anything against them.* I have heard that *silver money was thrown overboard to them* to prevent their doing any damage to the boat. In the seal-form they came ashore every ninth night to dance on the sands. They would then cast off their skins, and act *just like men and women.* They could not, however, return to the sea without their skins—they were *simply human beings*, as an old song says :

"'I am a man upo' da land ;
I am a selkie i' da sea.
An' whin I'm far fa every strand,
My dwelling is in Shöol Skerry.'"

* * * * * * * *

There are many such folk-tales in the northern Thule. A man, we learn, always gets possession of the Finn woman by seizing the skin she has put off. One of these stories says that the captured Finn woman would often leave her husband to enjoy his slumber alone, and go down amongst the rocks to converse with her Finn one : but the inquisitive people who listened could not understand a single word of the conversation. She would, it was said, return after such interviews with briny and swollen eyes.

The human family of this Finn were human in all points, except in hands, which resembled web feet. Had the foolish man who was her husband burnt or destroyed the skin, the Finn woman could never have escaped. But the man had the skin hidden, and it was found by one of the bairns, who gave it to his mother. Thereupon she fled ; and it is said

that she cried, at parting with her family, very bitterly. The little ones were the only human beings she cared for. When the father came home, he found the children in tears, and on learning what had happened, bounded through the standing corn to the shore, where he only arrived in time to see, to his grief, his good wife shaking flippers and embracing an ugly brute of a seal. She cried:—

> "Blissins' be wi' de,
> Baith de and da bairns!
> Bit do kens, da first love
> Is aye da best!"

whereupon she disappeared with her Finn husband and lover.

* * * * * * * *

. . . . I here give what Mr. Robert Sinclair says of the capture of Finn brides by Shetlanders :—

"Each district, almost, has its own version of a case where a young Shetlander had married a female Finn. They were generally caught at their toilet in the tide-mark, having doffed the charmed covering, and being engaged in dressing their flowing locks, while the enamoured youth, by some lucky stroke, secured the skin, rendering the owner a captive victim of his passion. Thus it was that whole families of a mongrel race sprang up, according to tradition. The Finn women were said to *make good housewives.* Yet there was generally a longing after some previous attachment; and if ever a chance occurred of recovering the essential dress, no newly formed ties of kindred could prevent escape and return to former pleasures. This was assiduously guarded against on the one side, and watched on the other; but, as the story goes, female curiosity and cunning were always more than a match for male care and caution; and the Finn woman always got the slip. One or two of these female Finns was said to have the power to conjure up from the deep a superior breed of horned cattle; and these always throve well. I have seen some pointed out to me as the offspring of these 'sea-kye'."

In answer to my question, the Shetland friend lays great stress on the fact of the Finn woman being wholly distinct from the Mermaid. . . .

* * * * * * * *

Of the Finn man my informant says :—

"Stories of the Norway Finns were rife in my younger days. These were said to be a race of creatures of *human origin* no doubt, but possessed of some power of enchantment by which they could, with the use of a charmed seal-skin, become in every way, to all appearance, a veritable seal; only *retaining their human intelligence.* It seems that any seal-skin could not do; each *must have their specially prepared skin* before they could assume the aquatic life. But then they could live for years in the sea. Yet they were not reckoned as belonging to the natural class of 'amphibia'. As man or seal they were simply Finns, and could play their part well in either element. Their feats were marvellous. It was told me

as sheer truth that they could *pull across to Bergen*—nearly 300 miles—in a few hours, and that, while ordinary mortals were asleep, they could make the return voyage. Nine miles for every warp (stroke of the oar) was the traditional speed."

Here, then, the Finns are men of human origin; remaining intelligent men in their sea-dog raiment; coming from Norway; not swimming like marine animals, but rowing between Shetland and Norway—namely, to the town of Bergen, which lies in the southern part of Norway. As strong men at sea, they row with magic quickness. . . . Each one of them must have his specially prepared skin. . . . There is nothing here of the swimming and dipping down of a seal.

We have followed Mr. Karl Blind so far. But, while recognising the value of his statements and comments up to this point, it is necessary to give only a modified assent to some of his subsequent deductions, and to flatly deny the correctness of others; because his researches in "Shetlandic folk-lore" have clearly been too limited in their extent, or, rather, he has omitted to check those traditions by any possible contemporary records. Some of those tales were received from a Shetland woman "who strongly believed in the Finns, and declared herself to be a descendant of them. She was, she said, the 'fifth from the Finns', and she attributed great luckiness to herself, although she was as poor as poor could be." One of her stories is of her father's great-grandfather; and as this ancestor of the woman's is not spoken of as a "Finn", it would seem that she was "fifth from the Finns" through another branch of her lineage. But, at any rate, this progenitor in the fourth degree cannot have belonged to a much later period than the middle of the eighteenth century. Not that it is necessary to go so far back even as that, in order to find these Shetland "Finns". We are told that "the belief that witches and wizards came from the coast of Norway disguised as seals, was entertained by many of the Shetland peasantry even so late as the beginning of the *present* century."[1] However, we shall see them more plainly described if we turn to the latter part of the seventeenth century.

In *A Description of the Isles of Orkney*, written by the Rev. James Wallace, A.M., Minister of Kirkwall, about the year 1688, one reads as follows:—

Sometime about this Country [Orkney] are seen these Men which are called *Finnmen;* In the year 1682 one was seen sometime sailing, sometime Rowing up and down in his little Boat at the south end of the Isle of

[1] This (which is stated in *Shetland Fireside Tales*) is quoted by Mr. Blind in his article in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of March 1882.

Eda, most of the people of the Isle flocked to see him, and when they adventured to put out a Boat with men to see if they could apprehend him, he presently fled away most swiftly: And in the Year 1684, another was seen from *Westra*, and for a while after they got few or no Fishes, for they have this Remark here, that these *Finnmen* drive away the fishes from the place to which they come.

Again, in Brand's *Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, etc.* (1701), it is stated:

There are frequently *Fin-men* seen here upon the Coasts, as one about a year ago on *Stronsa*, and another within these few Months on *Westra*, a gentleman with many others in the Isle looking on him nigh to the shore, but when any endeavour to apprehend them they flee away most swiftly; Which is very strange, that one man sitting in his little Boat, should come some hundred of Leagues, from their own Coasts, as they reckon *Finland* to be from *Orkney;* It may be thought wonderfull how they live all that time, and are able to keep the Sea so long. His Boat is made of Seal-skins, or some kind of leather, he also hath a Coat of Leather upon him, and he sitteth in the middle of his Boat, with a little Oar in his hand, Fishing with his Lines: And when in a storm he seeth the high surge of a wave approaching, he hath a way of sinking his Boat, till the wave pass over, least thereby he should be overturned. The Fishers here observe that these *Finmen* or *Finland-men*, by their coming drive away the Fishes from the Coasts. One of their Boats is kept as a Rarity in the *Physicians Hall at Edinburgh.*

This last fact was first stated by Wallace (1688; previously quoted), who remarks:

One of their Boats sent from Orkney to Edinburgh is to be seen in the Physitians hall with the Oar and the Dart he makes use of for killing Fish, [and it is stated by Mr. John Small, M.A., &c., in his edition[1] of this book that the boat spoken of was "afterwards presented to the University Museum, now incorporated with the Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh"; and a note appended to the second edition also states that "there is another of their boats in the Church of Burra in Orkney"].

Wallace's book has also a note ascribed to the author's son, to the following effect:

I must acknowledge it seems a little unaccountable how these *Finnmen* should come on this coast, but they must probably be driven by storms from home, and cannot tell, when they are any way at sea, how to make their way home again; they have this advantage, that be the Seas never so boisterous, their boats being made of Fish Skins, are so contrived that he can never sink, but is like a Sea-gull swimming on the top of the watter.

[1] A reprint of 1883.

His shirt he has is so fastned to the Boat, that no water can come into his Boat to do him damage, except when he pleases to untye it.

There is, it will be seen, some difference of opinion as to the place whence these Finn-men came. The Shetlandic folk-lore indicates Bergen, on the south-western coast of Norway ; Brand regards Finland as their home ; while Wallace takes a still wider range. This last writer (who is the first in point of time) says this of them :—" These *Finnmen* seem to be some of these people that dwell about the *Fretum Davis* [Davis Straits], a full account of whom may be seen in the natural & moral History of the *Antilles*, Chap. 18." At first sight, and according to modern nomenclature, the connection between the Antilles and Davis Straits seems very remote. But it must be remembered that the traditional country of " Antilla", or the " Antilles", probably included the modern Atlantic seaboard of North America ; and that, when that territory was invaded by the Norsemen of the tenth century, it was found to contain a population of exactly the same description as those " Finn" races—people of dwarfish stature, who traversed their bays and seas in skin-covered skiffs.[1] However, Wallace's theory is obviously untenable. It is most improbable that any Eskimo of Davis Straits would attempt the trans-Atlantic passage in his tiny *kayak*, supporting life on the voyage by eating raw such fish as he might catch. Indeed, the feat is almost an impossibility. Moreover, it is quite clear that those Finn-men were voluntary and frequent visitors to the Orkneys and (more especially) to the Shetlands ; and the " Fin-land" from which they came is stated by the Shetlanders to have been no further off than Bergen, on the Norwegian coast.[2]

It is quite evident that " the Finns of the Shetlandic story" formed a branch of " the Ugrian race of the Finns" ; and that some of them "came ow'r fa Norraway"—whether as "wizards", or as fishermen, or as pirates (for they figure in all these characters). The description of their skin-covered canoes is of itself quite sufficient to show that those " Finns" of Orkney and Shetland were of the Eskimo races. The specimen " kept as a Rarity" in the Edinburgh Museum is nothing else than an Eskimo " kayak". So that those " sea-skins", without which the captive Finn women could not make their escape, were simply their canoes. And the exaggerated stories of the speed with which the Finns could cross from Shetland to Bergen have their foundation in the fact that

[1] *Antiquitates Americanæ.*

[2] It may be from them that an inlet at Bergen is called " *Fens* Fiord."

those little skiffs can be propelled through the water at such a rate that the hunted Finn was enabled to "flee away most swiftly" from the clumsier boats of his pursuers. That they could "pull across to Bergen in a few hours" was, of course, impossible; but the distance (which is nearer 200 than "300" miles) might easily be traversed between one sunrise and another—by such seafarers and in such craft.

But, while the "seal-skin" of the traditional Finn was primarily his skin kayak, it is likely enough that he is also remembered as the wearer of a seal-skin garment; and that from this has arisen the confusion of ideas regarding this magic "skin". "His Boat is made of Seal-skins or some kind of leather", says Brand, in describing the Finn-man; but he adds that "*he* also hath a Coat of Leather upon him". And Dr. Wallace tells us that the Finns "have this advantage, that be the Seas never so boisterous, their boats being made of Fish Skins, are so contrived that he can never sink, but is like a Sea-gull swimming on the top of the watter." And he continues: "His shirt he has is so fastened to the Boat, that no water can come into his Boat to do him damage, except when he pleases to untye it." Anyone familiar with the shape of the long, narrow, skin-covered skiff of the Eskimo (which is completely "decked", with the exception of the round aperture in the middle, where the rower sits—his legs being thrust in front of him, underneath the "deck"), will see that when the Finn had fastened his seal-skin garment to the sides of the aperture, he and his boat were one. Thus, not only could "no water come into his Boat to do him damage", but he appeared (to people unacquainted with his anatomy) as some amphibious seal-man—"a selkie i' da sea", as the Shetland rhyme goes. And to this circumstance may be traced much—if not all—that has been recorded of mermen and mermaids; who, in other words, were seamen and seamaids.

Those legendary mermaids who are described as using combs and mirrors were plainly allied to these Finn-women. It is manifest that no amphibious woman (the possibility of whose existence is not here denied) would carry a mirror and a comb about with her; or that she—whose chief element was the water—would be for ever engaged in the mad task of arranging hair which every plunge in the sea would disarrange most effectually. But those female Finns, whom the amorous Shetlanders captured before they could regain their little *kayaks*, are described as "engaged in dressing their flowing locks" at the eventful moment: a most natural proceeding on the part of any woman who has just landed

from a sea-voyage (whether these particular women had come all the way from Bergen, or—which is likely—from some outlying island of the Shetland group). The *reality* of those merwomen of Shetland is manifest throughout the tales relating to them. They bear children to their Shetland lovers ; they "were said to make good housewives" ; and their descendants in the Shetland Islands to-day are, presumably, as "real" and human as any of Her Majesty's subjects. That most of those unwillingly-wedded Finn women tried to regain their liberty at the first opportunity is seen from the repeated statement that the Shetland husband was always careful to hide the "sea-skin" of his Finn wife. But, in the story of the woman who held occasional interviews with her kindred, from which she returned "with briny and swollen eyes", it would seem that she had decided to throw in her lot with her Shetland husband and people. It is true that, if her friends came to those stolen interviews in their small skiffs, they could not help her to escape ; because those *kayaks* are (like bicycles and "sulkies") only able to carry one passenger. But it may be presumed that some mode of escape could have been effected, had she wished.

Although Bergen was latterly the home of those Finns who came to Shetland, it is most probable that many of the stories regarding them related to a time when they still retained possession of some of the Shetland islands. When they were "frequently" seen off the Orkney coast, quietly fishing, it is most improbable that their homes were among the Fiords of Norway—more than two hundred miles away. It seems clear that they retained their hold upon Shetland longer than Orkney ; but even in some parts of the latter archipelago they were apparently pretty much at home in the year 1700. This was the date of the Rev. Mr. Brand's tour, and a remark of his leads one to such a conclusion. It must be remembered that those Finns were regarded as wizards and witches by the more ignorant classes : "the belief that witches and wizards came from the coast of Norway disguised as seals was entertained by many of the Shetland peasantry even so late as the beginning of the present century." And they were regarded as, in some sense, supernatural beings. Now, Mr. Karl Blind, in suggesting that the "skins" of the Finns may have been (as in one aspect they actually were) their outward garments, "made of seal-skin, and then covered with metal rings, or scales"—in assuming this, Mr. Blind is quite in agreement with a statement made by Brand in 1700 ; which is to this effect, that "supernatural" beings were, at the date of his visit, "frequently seen in several of the

Isles (the Orkneys) dancing and making merry, *and sometimes seen in Armour.*" It ought not to be forgotten that although the Finn fisherman "fled away most swiftly", when chased by a considerable party of his foes, yet "it is worthy of note that the supposed object of [the Finn invaders] was *plunder*";[1] that "they were wont to pursue boats at sea"; that "*silver money was thrown to them* to prevent their doing any damage to the boat"; and that "it was dangerous in the extreme *to say anything against them.*"[2] Whether such attacks were made in their small skin-canoes, or whether they used larger vessels, it is evident that they were formidable marauders; and that, as Mr. Karl Blind suggests, and as the Rev. Mr. Brand records, those Finn pirates were "sometimes seen in Armour".

But neither the belief in Mer-men, nor the existence of traditionary pedigrees deduced from such people, forms a distinct characteristic of the Shetland Islands. Just as there are Shetlanders who trace their lineage to one or more ancestors of Finn blood, so are there similar family traditions in many parts of the British Islands. "It is believed that there are several old Welsh families who are the descendants" of Mer-folk; and similar examples are found "in the traditions of the O'Flaherty, O'Sullivan, and Macnamara families."[3] "The inhabitants of the Isle of Man have a number of such stories, which may be found in Waldron";[4] and the tale of Macphail of Colonsay and "The Mermaid of Corryvreckan" is not the only Hebridean illustration of this feature. The references that are made to mermaids in the prefatory remarks to Leyden's version of the Corryvreckan story are quite in keeping with the Shetland traditions. That is, there are certain attributes ascribed to those mer-women which, on the surface, are incredible; but which the knowledge that is given to us by Brand and Wallace renders quite intelligible. The "train" or "tail" of the mermaid has only to be translated "canoe" or "kayak", and what was formerly nonsense becomes sense. For example, the statement that "the mermaid of Corrivrekin possessed the power of occasionally resigning her scaly train", is only a jumbled reminiscence of the fact referred to by Dr. Wallace, who, when speaking of the

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1882.

[2] *Contemporary Review*, September 1881.

[3] *Contemporary Review*, August 1881. See also Mr. Gomme's article, *Arch. Rev.*, vol. iii, pp. 219-20. And to these examples may be added the people of Burra Firth, Unst, Shetland, who are said to be descended from "seals".

[4] Preface to Leyden's "Mermaid", in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.*

mer-man, says: "His [seal-skin] shirt he has so fastened to the Boat, that no water can come into his Boat to do him damage, except when he pleases to untye it, which he . does when he comes ashore." In the other phraseology, he "possessed the power of occasionally resigning his scaly train".

In the remarks prefacing Leyden's "Mermaid" (in *The Minstrelsy*), it is stated that "mermaids were sometimes supposed to be possessed of supernatural power". The Shetland peasantry, also, believe (or did believe) that "*witches* came from the coast of Norway disguised as seals." And "Ranulph Higden says 'that the *witches* in the Isle of Man anciently sold winds to mariners, and delivered them in knots, tied upon a thread, *exactly as the Laplanders did*'."[1] At one time—if not now—Lapland was regarded as a stronghold of "magic". Butler, in referring to one of the things "in which the Lapland Magi deal", makes selection of this practice of "selling winds" to sailors[2]; the "Magi" being (in this detail) feminine. But the British Islanders have practised many "Lapp" mysteries: and there is a distinct "Ugrian" element among the British people; neither of which facts are at all at variance with the traditions that derive the descent of many modern Britons from sea-faring tribes of "Finns" and other Mer-folk.

One account[3] states, with regard to the mer-women, that "the sailors pretend to guess what chance they had of saving their lives in the tempests, which always followed her appearance." Apparently, this refers more particularly to Norway. In the Channel Islands a similar belief exists regarding the mer-man, who is styled "the King of the *Auxcriniers*". "*Il est le baladin lugubre de la tempête*", says Victor Hugo, in describing this mer-man of the Channel.[4] The probable explanation of this belief is that, when a tempest was threatening, those solitary rovers—knowing that their fragile "sea-skins" could never outride a heavy storm—made hastily for the nearest coast. Indeed, when one looks at those delicate little vessels, wholly dependent upon the thoroughness of the stitching that unites the various pieces of skin together, one can only wonder at the daring of the people who ventured in them a hundred miles and more from any land. "Nothing but a plank between one and Eternity" is not so dangerous as it sounds; for planks can float one

[1] *Letters from the Isle of Man.* London, 1847; p. 59.

[2] The allusion in *Hudibras* bears more specially on the custom of selling the winds in bags, or "bottled"; which is a variation of the Manx practice.

[3] The preface to Leyden's "Mermaid."

[4] *Les Travailleurs de la Mer.*

when the worst happens. But what is to be made of half-a-dozen bits of whalebone or wood, with one thin covering of seal-skin stretched over them? The giving of a stitch, or the smallest fracture in the skin—and both skiff and skiff-man are under the water.

To point out the various characteristics of the traditional mermen and mer-women, and to suggest an explanation of each, is more than need be attempted here. But it is enough to remark that the mere fact that marriages between "men" and the mer-folk were possible and frequent, is quite sufficient to prove that there was no great difference between the two races. When one reads of mer-women bearing children to land-men, and "making good housewives" to them; or, when one learns that the mer-men were given to "deceiving women", then one may feel pretty certain of their humanity.

It has been noticed that one of their skin-boats, or kayaks, is "kept as a Rarity" in the Museum at Edinburgh, and that another is (or was) preserved "in the Church of Burra in Orkney". There are many British traditions of such boats in connection with such people; although the names by which those skiffs are popularly remembered are as unreasonable as the "scaly train" of the Finn-woman of Corryvreckan. In Sutherland it is said that those people used to cross the Dornoch Firth in "cockle shells";[1] while one man records having seen them quitting the coasts of the Isle of Man "in empty rum puncheons", in which vessels he "saw them scudding away, as far as the eye could reach."[2] It is very likely that those traditional "witches" who went to sea in "sieves" were also identical with those who came from the coast of Norway disguised as seals"; and that the *sieve* was nothing else than the *kayak*.

That the Finns of Orkney and Shetland used the long, narrow *kayaks* of the modern Esquimaux and Samoyeds is unmistakable: and the same shape of skiff has probably been employed by British and other European "mer-men" for an immemorial period. But other varieties of this kind of boat have been used. For example, the natives of those islands and promontories which form "the Rosses" of Donegal are described (in the years 1753 and 1754) as using seal-skin boats; but their shape does not seem to have been identical with that of the kayak. "Their boats" (says a visitor to "the Rosses", at that date[3]), "called curraghs, were oval

[1] Mr. J. F. Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, vol. ii, p. 64.
[2] *Letters from the Isle of Man.* London, 1847; p. 63.
[3] Quoted in the *Annual Register* of 1788; *Manners of Nations*, pp. 77-80.

baskets, covered with seal-skins; and in such weak and tottering vessels they ventured so far out as was necessary, to get fish enough for their families."

These *curraghs*, it would seem, were nearer those still used in Wales (and also by the Mandans of the Upper Missouri) than the long, covered-in skiff of the sub-Arctic tribes. Or, perhaps, they resemble those *curraghs* now used in Ireland; which differ chiefly from ordinary boats in their frames being covered with skins, in place of planks. In his *Gaelic Dictionary*, Armstrong states that "the *curach*, or boat of leather and wicker", was "much in use in the Western Isles (Hebrides), even long after the art of building of boats of wood was introduced." As he says that the Islesmen "fearlessly committed themselves, in these slight pinnaces, to the mercy of the most violent weather", it seems most likely that the "decked" kayak is the kind of which he is speaking. At any rate, when he gives a diminutive form of *curach* (*curachan*), and defines it "a little skiff; a canoe", it is almost certain that he has in view the "kayak" of the Finn-man.

It appears impossible to ascertain a time when those skin-boats were *not* used in Europe. Armstrong tells us that "Marianus Scotus makes mention of three Irishmen who came in a *curach* without sails or oars, and landed in Cornwall after a voyage of seven days"; and, further, that "Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* vii, observes that the Saxon pirates of his time frequently crossed the British seas in such boats". Again, the fourth-century inhabitants of the Oestrymnic Archipelago are thus described by a Latin writer[1]:—

> "They know not to fit with pine
> Their keels, nor with fir, as use is,
> They shape their boats; but, strange to say;
> They fit their vessels with united skins,
> And often traverse the deep in a hide."

And Gildas, referring to the incursions of the "Scots and Picts", says that they crossed the "Scythian Valley" (believed to be either the Firth of Forth or the Solway Firth) in "*the little narrow bores* of their curroughs". This last expression indicates the *kayak* pretty plainly, though some of the other references suggest a larger size of skin-boat.

In the twelfth century, according to the *Heimskringla* (Saga xiv), these skin-boats were still used by the Lapps or Finns.

[1] Quoted by Dr. Skene: *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i, p. 168.

(These two terms are interchangeable.) When Sigurd Slembe and his men sought shelter from their foes, in a cave "at Tialdasund by Glufrafiord in Kinnfielde", where they passed the winter, he got the Lapps to make two skin-boats for him, large enough to contain twelve men each.[1] "These boats were so light that no ship could overtake them in the water, according to what was sung at the time :—

> 'Our skin-sewed Fin-boats lightly swim,
> Over the sea like wind they skim.
> Our ships are built without a nail;
> Few ships like ours can row or sail.'"

These lines are precisely in agreement with the Shetland traditions regarding the Finns who "came over from Norway"; and it will be remembered that the "Finmen" who fished off the Orkney coasts about the year 1682, and one or more of whose slim kayaks are still preserved in Edinburgh, had no difficulty in "fleeing away most swiftly" from the heavier boats of their pursuers.

And although that portion of the *Heimskringla* does not specially indicate the kayak (which, however, may be inferred), it is probable that this is what is meant in the *Ynglinga Saga* (chap. vii), where it is stated that "Odin had a ship which was called Skidbladner, in which he sailed over wide seas, and which he could roll up like a cloth." "This possibly refers", says Mr. Laing, "to boats covered with skin or leather—the coracle of the Welsh and Irish."

That the round *curach* or *coracle*, covered with skin, and similar to that still seen in Wales, was in use in the north of Scotland in the early part of last century, is testified to by a letter quoted in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1880-81, p. 179-80, from which it will be seen that the tradition already referred to—that the dwellers on the shores of the Dornoch Firth used to employ "cockle shells" as ferry-boats—is nothing but a fanciful and imperfect remembrance of this particular kind of *curach*. The *curachs*, however, in which the Western Islanders "fearlessly committed themselves to the mercy of the most violent weather" cannot have been of this shape. But either variety of skin-boat was undoubtedly the property of the one race of people. Indeed, we are told, in a description of the Aleutian Islanders

[1] They were therefore much larger than the *kayak*, but other Mongoloid tribes, such as the Aleutian islanders, are described as using both sizes—the large one for a number of men, the *kayak* for the solitary rover; both sizes being made of the same material.

during last century, that "their vessels consist of two sorts", of which one is the *kayak*, propelled by the double-bladed paddle, while the other is large enough to hold thirty or forty people, and has "oars on both sides". But both kinds are skin-covered.

Enough, then, has been said to indicate the presence of those skiff-people in various parts of the British Islands, and in various parts of Europe. It may be that the latest *authentic* records of British Esquimaux are those given by Brand and Wallace, in the end of the seventeenth century. True, the Shetlandic (and perhaps other) traditions bring us down to later dates. But traditions are necessarily uncertain. However, we do know that the waters surrounding the Orcadian and Shetland groups were fished in by Esquimaux tribes so recently as the year 1700[1]; and we also know, from tradition, that these same "Finns" or "Finn-men" "were wont to pursue boats at sea", and to demand a money-tribute from the fishermen whom they chased. (In turn, they themselves were pursued by the islanders, when they made their appearance, singly, near their coasts.) That they were feared by the islanders is evident from the Shetlandic legends; and it will be noticed that those Shetlanders who are understood to have Finn blood in their veins "look upon themselves as superior to common people". All this suggests that those straggling "Finn-men" of the year 1700 were really the representatives of a decayed caste of conquerors. The fact that they are remembered as wearing armour places them before us as a distinctly military race; and "the Darts they make use of for killing Fish" were probably the least important of their weapons.

The non-Finnish Shetlanders who overheard the captive woman talking with her friends "could not understand a single word of the conversation". It is not necessary to assume that this denoted more than a mere dialectic difference; accent being a wonderfully important consideration in cases of this sort. That Finn settlements were often conterminous with districts occupied by those who regarded the Finns as enemies is suggested by the existence of a "Finns' Town" in Orkney, and a "Finn Town" in Donegal.[2]

Of course, those Finns must have one or many historical names. It is probable that they constituted a large proportion of the population of the Outer Hebrides. One of the stories relating to such people is of a mer-woman who "fell in love with a young

[1] Brand.

[2] And, perhaps, by many other names of like nature—such as *Finsbury*, *Findon*, *Finhaven*, *Fincastle*, etc.

shepherd, who kept his flocks beside a creek *much frequented by these marine people*"—the locality being somewhere on the Manx coast. "She frequently caressed him" (the account continues—somewhat superfluously), "and brought him presents of coral, fine pearls, and every valuable production of the ocean."[1] Now, this woman may easily have been one of those "marine people" who inhabited various parts of the Hebrides, and who used the skin-skiff of the Esquimaux "even long after the art of building boats of wood was introduced". Those Hebrideans (we have been told by Armstrong) "fearlessly committed themselves, in these slight pinnaces, to the mercy of the most violent weather." The coral and "fine pearls" which this mer-woman brought to her Manx lover may have come from no greater distance than the Island of Skye; since Martin tells us that the people of that island used to adorn their garments with "fine stones" and "pieces of red coral"—the latter article being found in "great quantity" on the shores of the Lewis. At that time the islanders of Jura dwelt in turf-covered wigwams identical with those used by modern Lapps; as may be seen from the illustration given by Pennant in his second *Tour*. And the people of Harris were described in the following terms, in the early part of this century[2]:—"In general the natives are of small stature. . . . Scarcely any attain the height of 6 feet, and many of the males are not higher than 5 feet 3 or 4 inches." "The Harrisian physiognomy" is thus detailed: "The cheek bones are rather prominent, and the nose is invariably short, the space between it and the chin being disproportionately long. The complexion is of all tints. Many individuals are as dark as mulattoes." The population thus described was greatly mingled at the period when these latter observations were made; but there is nevertheless strong evidence of the possession of Ugrian blood in the people thus portrayed. And their boats and dwellings do nothing to contradict this theoretical connection with the races we now know by such names as Lapp, Finn, Samoyed, and Eskimo.

The author of the *Gallovidian Encyclopedia* gives also a hint of the existence of such a population in Galloway: when (under the name "cutty glies") he refers to "a class of females", whom he describes as "little" and "squat-made", and to whom he assigns (without exception) the amorous nature of the Manx mer-woman just spoken of. And, as the Gallovidian chronicler lived near the

[1] This is quoted from *Waldron's Works*, p. 176.

[2] This description is given at p. 550 of Dawson's *Statistical History of Scotland*.

inlet known as "the Manxman's Lake", it is not improbable that this also was "a creek much frequented by these marine people"; and that, in short, Mactaggart's "little, squat-made females" were of the same stock as the Mer-women of the Isle of Man and the Hebrides, and the Finn-women of the Northern Isles.

It is clear that those popular traditions and records, as well as the indisputable statements of Brand and Wallace, indicate two very different kinds of people, who, sometimes fighting, sometimes inter-marrying, occupied territories that were, in many cases, conterminous. That they were often enemies is evident. The Finn-man, when alone, was hunted from the non-Finnish islands by the natives: and, on the other hand, he was "wont to pursue boats at sea", and to demand tribute from the fishermen—when his superior arms, or the number of his comrades, warranted him to do so.

Now, there is documentary evidence of this state of things during the seventeenth century; though the localities therein referred to are the Northern Hebrides rather than the Orkney and Shetland Isles. But the description corresponds, in everything else, with that given by the islesmen of the North-East. We are told[1] that, in the year 1635, certain sections of the Hebridean Islanders "comes in troupes and Companies out of the Yles where they dwell to the Yles and Loches where the fishes ar tane and their violentlie spoyles his Majesteis subjects of their fisches and sometimes of thair victualls and other furniture and persewes thame of their lyffes, breakes the schooles of thair herring and comitts manie moe insolenceis upoun thame to the great hinder and disappointing of the fishing, hurt of his Majesteis subjects to the contempt of his Majesteis auctoritte and lawes," etc. This—even to the detail that they "by their coming drive away the Fishes from the Coasts"—is an exactly similar account to that given, in the same century, to Brand and Wallace, and in the present century (but relating to about the same period) to Mr. Karl Blind. In the one case, the scene is the North-Western coasts of Scotland; in the other it is the North-Eastern. But the kind of people described are pretty evidently alike.

In either case, too, the Mer-folk or Finn-men are not spoken of as subjects of the Modern-British kingdom. The Proclamation of 1635, quoted above, does not regard "some of the inhabitants of the Yles of this kingdome" as being "his Majesteis subjects". The phrase, "Yles *of this kingdome*", does, indeed, imply something

[1] In a "Proclamation by the Privy Council of Scotland regarding the Fishing in the Isles"; given at p. 111 of *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

of a common nationality ; but, as a matter of fact, certain portions of North-Western Scotland were not strictly under the rule of Charles the First, at that period. That this was so may be seen (if nowhere else) in the papers relating to those territories, of dates ranging from 1574 to 1635, which are quoted in the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (pp. 100-121). One of these is a letter written by Charles I "to the Privy Council of Scotland directing an inquiry into the exactions by the Heritors of the [Hebridean] Isles from those engaged in the Fisheries ; and the bringing in of Foreigners by the Heritors." And this letter runs as follows : "Whereas it is not unknown to you with what care we have intendit the good of the Association of the Fischings within thess our Kingdomes *for the use of our subjects*[1] and that we will be provident to protect *them*[1] from the exaction of *the heritours in the Yles*[1] who as we are informed without warrant exact sundrie dewteis from them to their great prejudice, bringing in strangers and loading the vessells with fisches and other native commoditeis contrair to our lawis," etc. The letter then commands the Scotch Privy Council to learn "upon what warrant they ["the landislordis of the Yles wher the fisching is"] tak thess dewteiss." In the Report made, six months later, by the Commissioners appointed by the Privy Council, regarding "the duteis exacted be the Ylanders frome his Majesteis subjects of the associatioun resorting in these parts," it is stated : "*that it wes the ancient custome*[2] . . . to everie ane of thame in whose boundis the herring fishing fell oute, *to exact of*[2] everie barke and ship resorting thereto" such-and-such a tribute, in money and in kind : "Being demandit by what warrand they uplift the saids exactions and dewteis foresaids, they answer that they ar heretours of the ground and so may lawfully take up satisfactioun for ground leave and ankerage ; it being ane ancient custome and in use to be done past memorie of man."

Through all these documents of this period there runs a feeling (not distinctly formulated) that "his Majesteis subjects"—"his Majesteis frie liegis"—"the haill inhabitantis of The Burrowis of this Realme"—were terms that did not strictly apply to "the heritours in the Yles". And that these latter—though nominally the subjects of the British monarch—still exercised a kind of semi-sovereignty in their own territories ; enforcing tribute from "his Majesty's free lieges", and carrying on commercial relations with "foreigners", contrary to the wishes of Charles himself. That

[1] Not italicised in the original.
[2] In this instance the italics occur in the original.

these independent rights were, to some extent, recognised by Charles may be gathered from his own expressions in the documents referred to. And the existence of this antagonism to British law was quite distinctly acknowledged by Charles's father (James) when, in the year 1608, he issued his instructions to a Commission "appointed for the Improvement of the Isles"; wherein he states his "desire to remove all such scandalous reproches aganis that state, in suffering a pairt of it to be possessed with suche wild savageis voide of Godis feare and our obedience."[1]

Nor was this independence confined to the mere exacting of a tribute, according to "ancient custom", from those fishermen who, themselves coming under the denomination of "his Majesty's subjects", resorted occasionally to the coasts of the North-Western Isles. The Report of 1634 showed that this tax was rigorously levied by those Island kings when the alien fishermen arrived within the "bounds" of certain islands. But they did not content themselves with this. The Proclamation of the Scotch Privy Council of the following year (1635) begins by stating that "the Lords of Privy Counsell ar informed that of lait ther hes been manie great insolenceis committit be some of the inhabitants of the Yles of this kingdome not onlie upoun his Majesteis subjects hanting the trade of fisching in the Yles but upon the Lords and others of the Association[2] of the Royall Fishing of Great Britane and Ireland; whiche Ylanders comes in troupes and companeis *out of the Yles where they dwell* to the Yles and Loches where the fishes ar tane and there violentlie spoyles his Majesteis subjects of their fisches and sometimes of thair victualls and other furniture and persewes thame of their lyffes," etc. This statement reveals quite plainly a condition of enmity between "his Majesty's subjects" and certain sections of the Hebridean population. And the traveller, Pennant, furnishes additional proof of this state of things, in describing the condition of society in the Island of Skye (or its vicinity) at about the period under consideration. "Each chieftain (he tells us—and the "chieftains" of whom he speaks were presumably "his Majesty's subjects")—each chieftain had his armour-bearer, who preceded his master in time of war, and, by my author's account, in time of peace; for they went armed even to church, in the manner the North-Americans do at present in the frontier settlement, and for the same reason, *the dread of savages.*" Of

[1] *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 115.

[2] In a letter to the Privy Council of Scotland, of 15th July 1632, Charles refers to this Association as "of new erected by us".

which "savages" there are many traditions still extant in the legendary lore of the West Highlands.

Of more historical nature is the evidence of Buchanan, who, in describing the Inner Hebrides, during the sixteenth century, states that the Island of Pabbay, close to the Skye coast, was then "infamous for robberies, where the thieves, from their lurking-places in the woods, with which it is covered, intercept the unwary travellers." Of the island of Rona, lying a little to the northward of Pabbay, and, at that time, "covered with wood and heath", he says: "In a deep bay it has a harbour, dangerous for voyagers, as it affords a covert for pirates, whence to surprise the passengers." To the west of Skye, and in the Outer Hebrides, there was the island of Uist, containing "numerous caves covered with heath, the lurking-places of robbers". Off the mainland coast, to the north-east of Skye, lay "the island Eu, almost wholly covered with wood, and of service only to the robbers, who lurk there to surprise travellers"; while "more to the north lies Gruinort (says the same writer), also darkened with wood, and infested with robbers." That is to say, all of these districts *belonged* to certain races who waged war against other populations in that archipelago; and who, in all probability, were the "savages" referred to by the traveller, Pennant.

Of course, the term "savage" is comparative; and it is often used most incorrectly. Nevertheless, something that modern nomenclature calls "savage" was visible in that locality even last century. On one occasion, when Dr. Johnson and his irrepressible biographer were exploring those north-western islands, the natives who rowed their boat seemed, to Boswell, "so like wild Indians that a very little imagination was necessary to give one an impression of being upon an American river." One of them, he tells us, was "a robust, black-haired fellow, half naked, and bare-headed, something between a wild Indian and an English tar" (of the eighteenth century). And some of the McRaas of the mainland he describes as being "as black and wild in their appearance as any American savages whatever."[1]

[1] Others of the same tribe were "as comely as Sappho"; and the inference is that, ethnologically regarded, these were totally different from the others. It must be remembered that the mere surname, borne by all the members of a Highland clan, did not imply kinship. The word "clan" was originally used to denote only the blood-relations of the chief; but latterly it was applied to the whole community. And that the commonalty was frequently composed of men of a wholly different stock from their chiefs, may be seen from the fact that the former are specially distinguished as "the native men" (*i.e.*, aborigines) in several clan documents.

Other tokens of "savage" customs might easily be adduced. For example, decaying specimens of the rude "dug-out", the most primitive of all canoes—a mere hollowed log—are now and then found in the depths of some Highland loch, or peat-bog; and are rashly pronounced to be "prehistoric"; whereas these very canoes were in common use in the north and west of Scotland less than two centuries ago.[1] However, neither this species of canoe, nor the vague references of Boswell, point unmistakably to the Ugrian or Mongoloid castes whom we are considering in this paper; although it is not unlikely that these lattter were one and the same as the "wild Indians" and the owners of the "dug-outs".

What is certain is that, when in the October of 1599, one of the ships belonging to the Fifeshire colonists of the Lewis was about to start on its homeward trip, it was surrounded by "a fleet of small vessels peculiar to those islands", and the natives, swarming on board, put to death all except the captain.[2] Now (although the act was simply a legitimate incident in the warfare of the time and locality), these islanders were the people whom King James spoke of as "wild savages". And it is tolerably certain that their "small vessels" were those "slight pinnaces" of skin, that Armstrong says were "much in use in the Western Isles"—in other words, the *kayaks* of the Eskimos or Finn-men. It is not unlikely that the resemblance to the modern Eskimo was very close in many details. For example, the West Highland traditions tell of "savages" who played the game of chess; which fact in itself argues decidedly a form of civilisation. Now, although the art of carving chessmen is extinct among modern Hebrideans, the traditional accounts were quite borne out by the discovery, in this century, of the now famous "Lewis chessmen", "in all fifty-eight pieces, ingeniously and elaborately carved from the walrus tooth."[3] Consequently, it would appear that the Finn-man occasionally hunted the walrus; in which pursuit he no doubt employed "the Dart he makes use of for killing Fish": exactly like a modern Eskimo.

But, admitting the existence, at so recent a date, of a visibly "Eskimo" caste in some parts of the Hebrides, what evidence is there that any of these people found their way to Shetland? One writer, we have seen, brings the Shetland Finns all the way from

[1] See Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary*, s. v. *Biorlinn;* also *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1880-81, pp. 179-80.

[2] Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, vol. iii, p. 49.

[3] Dr. Daniel Wilson's *Old Edinburgh*, vol. i, p. 29.

Davis Straits, another draws them from Finland, and the Shetlanders themselves say that they "came ow'r fa Norraway", especially from the neighbourhood of Bergen. The correctness of this last belief need not be questioned, as regards some of that caste. But it has been suggested in the foregoing pages that many of those "Finns" who persecuted the Shetland fishermen were those kayak-using Hebrideans who avowed their ancient right to despoil and to exact tribute from others, not only when fishing among "the Isles where they dwell", but in other waters.

We read[1] of raids made in the Orkneys and Shetland, during the latter part of the fifteenth century, by "bands of Islemen (*i.e.*, Hebrideans), Irish, and Scots, from the woods"; which last term strongly suggests the "robber" denizens of the thickly wooded islands spoken of by Buchanan a century later. The raiders were, no doubt, heterogeneous. But the piratical kayak-men were surely among them. There are many traditions extant in some parts of the north-eastern archipelagos regarding these raids — in the island of Westray, in Orkney, for instance, where, at a certain "Fitty Hill", there was once a great fight between the Westray people and the invading Lewismen, all of whom were slain. Now, this Fitty Hill is associated strongly with the people recognisable as "Finns", or at least was so in the year 1701, according to a writer previously quoted (Brand), and both he and Wallace (who wrote in 1688) mention the frequent visits of Finn-men to the Westray fishing-grounds. Indeed, the *kayak* now in Edinburgh seems, according to the latter writer, to have been one of those secured by the Orkneymen; who probably made sure that the Finn himself should have no further use for it.

Thus, it is a simple historical fact that certain castes of the Hebrideans, whose practice of despoiling and exacting tribute from others was a thing beyond question, were very frequent visitors to the Orkney and Shetland groups, whose natives they did their utmost to overawe. And, as the skin skiffs of the Hebrideans were of such a description that the skiffmen "fearlessly committed themselves in these slight pinnaces to the mercy of the most violent weather", they were well qualified to sing the song of the Finn-man:

> "I am a man upo' da land,
> I am a selkie i da sea."

Indeed, the concluding lines of that verse are peculiarly appropriate

[1] *See* pp. 59, 378, and 485 of *The Orkneys and Shetland*, by J. R. Tudor; London, 1883.

to the Hebridean. For if the "Shöol skerry" was the rocky islet of *Sule* or *Sula*, which lies about forty miles N.N.E. of Cape Wrath, it formed a very convenient refuge for him when "far from every strand", during his voyages between Shetland or Orkney and the Hebrides.

And it is in this aspect, as tyrannical sea-rovers, that the "Finns" are often remembered in Shetlandic tradition. It was their custom to pursue the boats of the Shetland fishermen, and to exact from them a tribute in "silver money". So much were they dreaded that "it was dangerous in the extreme to say anything against them". The original feeling of respect must have been very strong, since it has survived into the present century.

This, of course, relates to the Finns considered as men and as fighters. The other side of the question shows us the Finn-women, and also the Finn-men, in peaceful guise. And here, too, it is evident that those people were by no means regarded as an *inferior* race by the non-Finnish section of the Shetlanders (whatever that non-Finnish element may have been composed of), for those who claim a "Finn descent" at the present day regard this line of their ancestry as wholly superior to that which, for want of a better word, may be called "Shetlandic".

The Finn women, we are told, very frequently became the wives of the islanders; and, consequently, they became the mothers of "half-breed" families—that is, in those cases where the husband himself was of a wholly different stock. In some instances, owing to a Finn connection in the previous generation, such children may have been more Finnish than anything else. Many of the Finn wives seem to have cast in their lot altogether with their Shetland husbands, to whom they brought dowries of cattle, which —according to the peasant tradition—they "conjured up from the deep", of which the probable interpretation is that they caused them to be sent across from Bergen. Peaceful memories of the Finn men may also be traced in such things as the rhyme of the medicine-man who "came o'wr fa Norraway" to conjure the tooth-ache out of some unhappy Shetlander.

But these references, and apparently all the more recent of the Shetlandic traditions, point to Norway, and not to the Hebrides, as the home of the Finns; and it seems quite clear that the Bergen neighbourhood was a stronghold of this Mongoloid people within recent times.

Mr. H. Howorth,[1] in discussing these Mongoloid, or Ugrian

[1] In the Ethnological Society's *Journal*, vol. ii, No. 4.

people, remarks : " The Finns and Laps have been pushed back in Scandinavia to a very small portion of their ancient holding. In Livonia, in Esthonia, and in three-fourths of European Russia the Ugrians were, even in the eleventh century, the preponderating population" ; that is, Esthonia and Livonia then formed a part of " Finland", and the Gulf of Riga was a Finnish sea. We are not given a date as to their " preponderance" in Scandinavia ; but, if they were so numerous in the East Baltic districts during the eleventh century, it may be assumed they were also of considerable importance in the Scandinavian peninsula at the same time, and even much later.

There is, at any rate, a very interesting reference to Finns of Swedish nationality, made in connection with these Finns of Orkney. A last-century reader of Wallace's *Description of Orkney* (whose occasional comments upon that book are included in the reprint of 1883) gives, as his opinion, that the " Finn-men" of Orkney, in the years 1682-4, belonged to " the Finns, or inhabitants of Finland, part of the kingdom of Sweden". Whether this writer meant the Finns of Esthonia and Livonia, or of Finland proper—for all these provinces were under Swedish rule in the seventeenth century—it is evident that he went too far afield for his " Finn-men". But what really is important is the statement which he goes on to make, incidentally, with regard to the Finns of Sweden. " They had", he says, " a settlement in Pennsylvania, near the freshes of the river Delaware, in the neighbourhood of the Dutch, who were the first planters here" (and he gives as his authority *The British Empire in America*, vol. i, p. 309).

Now, this colony of Swedish *Finns* is clearly that which is otherwise spoken of as a colony of *Swedes*. When William Penn took possession, in the year 1682, of the territory which has ever since been associated with his memory, those " Swedes" were already settled there. "' He was hailed there with acclamation by the Swedes and Dutch,' says one authority, who informs us that the Swedes were living in log cabins and clay huts. The men dressed in ' leather breeches, jerkins, and match coats', the women ' in skin jackets and linsey petticoats'."[1] Those *Swedes*, then, of 1682, are identified by an eighteenth-century writer with the Swedish *Finns* of that period, and at the same time with the contemporary Finns of Orkney : who, also, according to Brand, wore " coats of leather".

[1] This is taken from an article on the Founding of Philadelphia ; contributed by the Rev. Dr. Stoughton to *The Sunday at Home*, 1882.

And their "log cabins and clay huts" were probably very much like the sod-covered dwellings of modern Lapps.

It is an interesting picture. Because this is plainly an infusion of unadulterated "Eskimo" blood, among the Pennsylvanians of that date, which is quite independent of the representatives of that family at present occupying Greenland and the northern parts of British North America. It is "Eskimo" blood that was "European" only two or three centuries ago. And it is quite likely that many modern Americans whose descent is drawn from those colonists who are vaguely styled "Pennsylvania-Dutch" have some of this blood in their veins. That they may have inherited a further share of it through other channels—"British," and perhaps also "Dutch"—is quite probable.

There is something very suggestive in the Shetland accounts that, several generations ago, Shetland fishermen were frequently terrorised into paying "silver money" as tribute to people who are said to have come across from Bergen. Many portions of the north-eastern corner of Scotland appear to have been within the diocese of Bergen, and to have owned the authority of that province up to very modern times. Of this there is ample evidence in title-deeds and other documents. This, of course, was a survival of the Scandinavian suzerainty over the extreme north and west of Scotland, which in the fifteenth century was actual sovereignty as regards Orkney and Shetland; while, for the Hebrides, the Scottish monarchs had to pay a yearly tribute known as "The Annual of Norway". And at an earlier period still, the Sudereys, or South Hebrides, and the Isle of Man, were included in this tributary kingdom. It is certainly worth considering whether the withdrawal of the legendary "marine people" from the Isle of Man, and their gradual disappearance (as "marine people") from the whole western and northern extremities of Scotland, which seems to coincide very closely, in time, with the decay of Scandinavian authority in these localities, ought not to be regarded as signifying that that authority was rooted in Mongoloid supremacy.[1]

[1] Bergen is so much associated with the "Finns" of Shetlandic tradition that it is at least worthy of notice that a special caste, known as *Strils* (pronounced "Streels"), who are very primitive in character, and who are regarded by the neighbouring Norwegians as of a different stock from their own, still inhabit the numerous islands that protect Bergen from the ocean. "They speak Norwegian after a fashion of their own, but it is very difficult to understand them, and there is reason to suppose that their idioms have a Samoyede root." ("Bergen", by Lieut. G. T. Temple, R.N., in *Good Words*, 1880, p. 767 *et seq.*)

However, our present purpose is not to guess at the name or names by which these people must be known to history, but to emphasise their existence as a Mongoloid race. That the present British people show traces of such a line of ancestry is the opinion of many modern ethnologists. In his *Origins of English History* Mr. Elton recognises a type "not unlike the modern Eskimo", as existent in certain parts of England. Mr. J. F. Campbell, in his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, contends strongly for the past existence in that locality of a race akin to modern Lapps. And the Iberian theorists discern a similar type in "the small swarthy Welshman", "the small, dark Highlander", and the "Black Celts to the west of the Shannon". The question of complexion is, of course, but of minor importance, since it is anatomical structure that determines affinity. The modern Eskimo races themselves show this, for they include all shades, from dark or olive to actual red and white; although plainly of one general stock.

They exhibited an American-Eskimo chief, "as a Rarity", at some of the eastern seaports of Scotland, a few years ago. But it is probable that a considerable number of the spectators were looking at a man who almost exactly resembled one or more of their own ancestors, not many generations back; not only in the style of his dress and in his general appearance, as he shot his slender kayak across their waters, but also, to a very great extent, in his physical features. And it is much the same with many millions of Europeans (and their offshoots), who, chiefly through intermixture, and partly on account of altered conditions of life, are no longer recognisable, to a superficial observer, as in any degree connected with this "Eskimo" stock.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

NOTES FROM THE NORTH HIGHLANDS.

I.—Turning the Heart.

THIS form of health-charm is still largely practised in the counties of Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. The popular notion, on the belief of which the charm is founded is, that by sudden fright, physical overstrain, the adverse influence of the evil eye, or disappointed love, the heart of the sufferer has been displaced and organically injured, and the object of the charm is to rectify this displacement and remedy the attending lesion.

The charm-secret is in the hereditary keeping of some persons who occupy a good position in society, and are entirely removed above the suspicion of exercising their "gift" for profit, much less for any sinister purpose. They are, for the most part, reluctant to engage in rites which, however innocent in their own honest belief, are understood to be regarded as unholy by their spiritual guides. "I learned the secret from my pious grandmother, who, when disabled by years and many frailties—when, indeed, on her death-bed—was wont to employ me to perform these rites for her, in order to give what relief she could to many anxious mothers resorting to her from far and near. I just did then, step by step, what she directed me to do, and I do so now when, from the same motives, I cannot help yielding to the earnest desires of the afflicted ones who seek my help." This was the good lady's apology and explanation, as she set about the rites which I shall now describe.

The primary materials of the charm were lead and water. The lead was placed on the fire in a small pot or crucible, without handle. It seemed to be a needful part of the charm that the human hand should not touch the crucible, which was taken off the fire and carried to the water in the grip of a small pair of ordinary fire-tongs. The vessel containing the water must not touch the ground. It was placed on a small wooden frame, but not in contact therewith. Over the top of this wooden frame a pair of scissors and a horn comb were crossed, and over this cross of metal and organic substance was placed a small tub or "luggie", containing the water. Now came the crisis. The crucible of molten lead, held in the grip of the tongs, was poured from some height into

the water, in which the falling stream of molten metal solidified in a great variety of curious shapes. These variously shaped pieces of lead were all carefully passed in review, and if one of them was a well-shaped heart, then the patient's heart was all right, and there was no need to go further with the charm. But if there was no well-formed heart, or nothing like a heart, then the whole of the lead was returned to the crucible, to be again, and if need be, many times, operated upon in the same way. If something more or less resembling a heart were found, the process was repeated, in the belief that further approaches to a well-shaped heart in the metal would be accompanied by similarly ameliorative progress towards the patient's recovery. But if, after many trials, no well-shaped heart was found in the water, then the friends of the sufferer must prepare for the worst.

Two points must here be observed: 1. The patient is not usually brought to the charm-worker—is, in fact, for the most part, an entire stranger to the charm-worker, who can, therefore, get no help or "wrinkles" for diagnosis from such physical signs or indications as the patient's breathing or looks, the presence or absence of œdema under the eyes, the tumidity, or normal condition of the veins of the neck, or the pulsations of the carotid arteries. 2. Whatever the quantity of lead, and whatever the proportions of its volume to the volume of water, such a thing as *two* hearts the charm-worker never expects to encounter. If ever such a phenomenon is met with, the patient must be a woman, and if unmarried, the outcome is "a misfortune". Medical readers will remember the one and only decisive indication in certain delicate medico-legal inquiries.

It should be added that all through this charm-working there was noticed nothing in the way of incantation or any sort of mummery. Everything was open, if also hushed, solemn, and I should add, for want of a better word, frightened-like. The operator's position in society is such, that any suggestion of fee or reward would be keenly resented. She has "the deposit from her grandmother". She honestly wishes she knew nothing about it. She knows that the culture of the day, and perhaps also the piety of her spiritual guides, are against it. But when heavy-hearted, afflicted mothers come to her for relief, what can she do? Her grandmother was a good, pious woman; she cannot err in doing as she did in her day.

The use of the *comb* in this charm may suggest an explanation of its place on our old sculptured stones. So also with the scissors.

II.—Luck.

In the opening "springtime of the year" the Highlander of the North is still on the outlook for omens of the season's luck, good or ill. Here is a Gaelic rhyme of evil omens that is still much in his heart, and sometimes also on his lips:

"Chunnaic mi selicheag air lar lom;
Chunnaic mi searrach is earball rium;
Chac a chubhac air mo cheann;
Is dh' aithnich mi rachadh a bhlian' ad lium."

"I saw a snail on bare ground;
I saw a foal with his tail towards me;
I heard the cuckoo *before breaking fast;*
And I knew that that year would not go with me."

The two omens of bad luck here first mentioned may have some foundation in the undoubted facts of nature. If the first snail you see in the spring be still on bare ground, the chances are that it is so because the season is cold and the spring late, with little grass for flocks and herds. It will, in fact, be a bad lambing year. The second omen has a closer connection with the former than at first appears. I have noticed that a healthy foal or lamb is quick to catch the sound of approaching footsteps. His head will be turned to watch ere yet you catch sight of him. If he is sickly, or a weakling, he lies still and takes little notice. But the third omen is a double-barrelled puzzler. I have translated it periphrastically. The literal translation is unfit for ears or eyes polite. The reader who desires to dive deeper, had better turn to his Gaelic dictionary for the verb *cac.* How the breakfastless human early bird in search of the morning worm is said to be so "fouled" by the soft-voiced cuckoo, bent in all probability on the same errand, is more than I can divine. Yet true it is, that the omens are few indeed which the young Highlander more eagerly shuns than *chac a chubhac orm.* I have known, forty years ago, a sober, intelligent Highland minister, who made the fear of this omen, or his belief in its foundation in some salutary lesson of nature, his excuse for never omitting his "morning". The "night-cap" he could well go without. But the morning "bitters" were regular and indispensable as the morning prayers. The omens here mentioned of good and ill-luck are special omens of the springtide. The bird omens for all the year round, such as the magpie's perching on an inhabited house—a much-feared omen of approaching death

—are in the North Highlands much the same as elsewhere, and in times as "hoary olden" as Ovid's *magna fides avium.*

But the changing habits of some birds have, within my own day, drawn the teeth of omens once greatly feared. In my early days, "of all the birds in the air"—as we used to say in the old counting-out game—the wariest was the common rook. When this shy bird rested on man's dwelling it was the sure omen of a death in the family. But since then, what with the cutting down of old rookeries, and what with the spread of all-changing villadom, *rus in urbe*, or rather *urbs in rure*, the common rook is well-nigh as bold an intruder as Jackdaw. He invades our poultry yards and pigeon-houses; there he is, as I write, sitting on the vestry of my church, close to my study window, with a veritable eggshell before him. It may have been on my breakfast table half an hour ago, but I would not like to make affidavit to that effect. Any way, "good parson Rook, with thy little book, we fear thy omens no more. Thy boldness has wrought in us that familiarity that breeds contempt." Not so with holy Robin, whose ruddy breast, blood-stained on Calvary, his winter confidence in man notwithstanding, is shield and sure defence, as sacred to-day to the city rough as of old it was to the thoughtful, much believing Highland laddie.

One other item of North Highland folk-lore I must here put on record ere the facts have vanished from a too treacherous memory. It concerns the breakfast table, and its special topic is

III.—Dear Salt.

Talking last week to an aged lady of 86, about the Salt Syndicate so much talked about in these days, and so much feared and cursed in our Scotch fishing villages, she reminded me that not very long ago salt was so heavily taxed in this country as to become a choice commodity of the smuggler. When my aged relative was a girl, the ordinary price of common salt was 5*d.* for two pounds. When the smuggler's sloop put into some lonely creek of the great Highland sea lochs, the news sped far and near with characteristic secrecy, and great was the joy of thrifty housewives. Under cover of night they paid stealthy visits to the ship, carrying away heavy backburdens of the precious condiment, for which they gladly paid the large price of 3*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* the peck. At that time a dozen of eggs sold for 3*d.*, and fresh butter was counted dear at 4*d.* a pound. In the far inland straths and glens a smuggling intermediary plied his perilous trade with

horse and packsaddle. This land smuggler of salt was, indeed, a well-known character in the North Highlands some seventy years ago. One of them, his occupation gone, was a noted character in my native parish. As a boy, I knew him under the name of *Murchadh'n t-Shallain*, Murdo of the Salt. My aged relative gave me some graphic pictures of the old Highland housewives' wily stratagems to elude the gauger, whom they feared when salt-raiding as much as if their burdens were smuggled whisky.

DONALD MASSON.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS AT ROME.[1]

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IT is well known how great was in the early Middle Ages the multitude of foreigners, especially from the Teutonic countries newly converted to the Christian faith, who came to Rome after long and laborious travels, in the dress and with the devotion of pilgrims, to visit the holy places of the Christian metropolis, and above all the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Amongst these pious visitors we soon begin to observe the Anglo-Saxons, or Saxons, as they are indifferently called by the early writers and chroniclers.

Shortly after the time of Gregory the Great, most frequent and intimate relations bound to the Eternal City the newly Christianised people of England, who had turned themselves to her with all the enthusiastic fervour of new converts. From that time they began to visit, in large crowds, the tomb of the Apostles (*limina Apostolorum*), initiating that long series of pilgrimages, of which many interesting records have been left to us by the English chroniclers, beginning with Bede.

In fact, this last writer, speaking of his countrymen's journeys to Rome, expressly says " that noblemen and plebeians, lay people and clergymen, men and women, used to rival each other" in their zeal for visiting their spiritual mother. As later on the Normans

[1] A Lecture read before the British and American Archæological Society at Rome.

for the Sanctuary of St. Michael Archangel, so the Anglo-Saxons had a special devotion for St. Peter's tomb, and going on pilgrimage to Rome was looked on, from the first half of the seventh century, as an "action of singular virtue", to use the words of Bede himself. Add then to this that the Anglo-Saxons, like the Normans later, even in things pertaining to religion, showed an inclination towards travel and adventure. And surely, a travel to Rome at those times was not an ordinary enterprise, taking into account the political and social conditions of Europe. There were a great number of states to traverse, large or small, which, with every kind of high-handed injustice, endeavoured to extort from the poor pilgrims, or *roméi*, as they were called, the supplies that they carried for their own sustenance. Heavy tolls had to be paid before passing the boundaries of kingdoms, at the gates of towns, at the bridges on the highroads, at the fords of rivers. The roads were badly kept and insecure, being infested by robbers, by highwaymen of every sort, and, worst of all, by the feudatory nobles and their cut-throats. Besides all this, the poor pilgrim now and then fell in with an enemy still more terrible, because invincible—the plague. Dangers of the same kind did not fail in Rome, nor in the surrounding Campagna, where *malaria* and the cruel greediness of the Roman barons were equally fatal.

The pilgrimage to Rome was often the consequence of a vow. Oswy, King of the Northumbrians, made a vow to come to Rome, if he recovered his health, and to end his life in one of the monasteries which had been erected around the Vatican Basilica. We know that Oswy did not accomplish his vow ; but it is certain (and we learn it also from a letter of condolence by Pope Vitalian, dated A.D. 665) that an envoy of the king, by name Wighard, came to Rome, where shortly afterwards he and nearly all his companions were cut off by a pestilence, due probably to the *malaria*, which proved so often fatal to visitors at Rome. So great was the number of those who took vows for a pilgrimage to Rome and then found it too difficult to keep their promise, that in the year 680 Agatho allowed them to solve such a vow by paying a visit to the Church of St. Peter at Medeshamstede or Peterborough. The visit to Rome made by Ceadwalla (Caduallus or Cedual), King of the West Saxons, formed a famous event in ecclesiastical history. He having shortly before embraced the Christian faith, wished to put on the white robe of the Catechumens, and to receive baptism by the very tomb of the Apostle Peter. He was baptised, in fact, by Pope Sergius I, on the morning of Holy Saturday, A.D. 689, in the

Baptistery of the Vatican Basilica, and during the solemn ceremony the pontiff imposed on him the name of *Peter*. A short time afterwards, the young sovereign, at the age of about thirty years, died, and to his body an honourable place of rest was given in the *Atrium* of the Vatican Basilica, just beside the tombs of the Roman emperors. His epitaph, in Latin verses, long and high-flown, dictated perhaps by Benedict, Archbishop of Milan, was still to be read in St. Peter's in the sixteenth century, and has been reproduced very often by those who have written on the history and monuments of that Basilica. Bede also quotes the inscription in full with perfect exactness: a fact which we may take as an additional proof of his historical accuracy.

A few years afterwards, by the side of Ceadwalla, the mortal remains of two other Anglo-Saxon princes found a final resting-place—Offa of Essex and Coenred of Mercia, who had renounced their crowns and embraced the monastic life in one of the cloisters built near the Vatican, or, as the old chroniclers say, received *the tonsure of St. Peter;* an expression which is used to distinguish Christian Roman tonsure from Celtic or *Druidical tonsure*. The latter was a remain of the old Celtic superstition, which had often been a cause of fierce controversy between the Roman Church and the British clergy.

A few years later (A.D. 758) the above-mentioned sovereigns were imitated by Wadbert, King of Northumbria, who having come to Rome, abdicated the crown in favour of his own son Oswulf, and he also received St. Peter's tonsure in one of the Vatican cloisters.

Already from the beginning of the eighth century, or in a still earlier time, there must have resided near the Vatican a flourishing Anglo-Saxon colony, composed for the greatest part of ecclesiastics. Of this fact, which has not been noticed by any of the writers on the subject, I find an indication in a Bull of Pope John VII, dated A.D. 705. In this important document the Pope, writing to the archbishops, bishops, and the whole clergy in England, announces to them that, having gathered a meeting of all the most distinguished English ecclesiastics who at that time dwelt by St. Peter's, he persuaded them to dismiss their lay dresses and to adopt thenceforward long robes—*secundum morem Romanorum*. It may be that the building where those ecclesiastics dwelt was nothing else but the Anglo-Saxon School or College, which we find expressly mentioned in some documents not many years later, of which I am now going to speak.

But first let me say a few words about the *scholae peregrinorum*, or schools of foreigners in general. In the Middle Ages at Rome, as well as in other towns of Italy and of Europe, the foreign inhabitants formed a special class, quite apart from the citizens properly so called. Like the associations of arts and trades, the foreigners were constituted in special corporate bodies, that, by a term already adopted from the Greeks by the Romans of the Imperial epoch, were called *scholae* (guilds); *schola* was also applied to the building where each of these corporations usually met or resided. A *prior*, or *rector*, or *primicerius*, presided over the school, and the members of it were generally known under the denomination of *scholastici* or *scholenses*. Such an organisation was all the more easy and advantageous, as during the whole of the Middle Ages foreigners were wont to live in special quarters of the town.

The best known of these are the *scholae* of the northern foreigners, who lived on the right bank of the Tiber, in proximity to St. Peter's Basilica—the goal of their long peregrinations. The Vatican ground was called in those times *Campus Neronianus*, or *Naumachia;* and there were yet to be seen considerable remains of the magnificent constructions which had belonged to the gardens and circus of Nero. Of these, the most conspicuous was the gigantic Caligula's obelisk (called then *Agulia*), the subject of so many curious legends, excited in the imagination of those rude and simple-minded northern pilgrims by the daily sight of that singular monument, which was then alone erect and intact in the midst of so many ruins.

Here, close to the sacred tomb of the Apostle Peter, with the aid of the popes and the princes and the wealthy people of their own nations, these foreigners built side by side of each other strong edifices and formed pious associations with special regard to the poor pilgrims coming from their own countries. A church, a group of houses with an hospice for the poor and the sick, a cemetery, formed, according to the custom of the time, the centre of every nation's quarter. In the very same way, as we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, the Jews of foreign lands had gathered themselves around the Temple of Jerusalem and formed the synagogues .of the Libertines, the Cyrenians, the Alexandrians, and the Cilicians.

It belongs to the history of the different nations to show what influence on the life and culture of the respective northern people these institutions may have exerted, planted as they were in the centre of Christianity and of Roman civilisation, just at the time

when these populations, still in the age of infancy, as we might say, were scarcely beginning to emerge from the state of superstition and barbarism in which they had lived till then. It is easy to understand how the pilgrimages to Rome and the schools established in the centre of Christianity and of Latin culture must have been very powerful instruments to spread in the northern countries of Europe Roman customs, education, and art.

In the course of the eighth century we already see that in the Vatican territory, on the southern side, and precisely on the left of the long portico which then carried visitors from the gate called of St. Peter, or Golden (*Aurea*), or *in Hadrianio*, at the end of the Aelian Bridge, there had been established the schools of the Longobards, of the Frisians, of the Franks, and of the Anglo-Saxons. The last mentioned, the *Schola Anglorum* or *Schola Saxonum*, was the oldest and the most flourishing. Its buildings, much more considerable, as it appears, than those belonging to the other northern schools, were situated on the bank of the Tiber, on the ground which is now occupied partly by the Hospital of *Santo Spirito*, and extends from it to the foot of a hill that, from some remains of Neronian constructions, was called *Palatiolum* or *Palazzolo ;* this name, observe, serving also to distinguish the ruins in question from the more considerable remains of the great Neronian circus. The district or quarter occupied by the school of the Anglo-Saxons was called *Saxia*, *Saxonia*, or simply *Burgus*, the last being a denomination that, as a contemporary writer expressly says, was adopted from the language of the Anglo-Saxons themselves (*burg*, *burrogh*). The street running along in front of the buildings had received the name of *Vicus Saxonum*, or *Strect of the Saxons;* the church, forming the centre of the quarter, was dedicated to Mary, Mother of Christ (*Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Genitricis*), and corresponded in situation to the present church of Santo Spirito. When, afterwards, Pope Leo IV, in the middle of the eighth century, according to the plan of fortification which had been conceived by his predecessor, Leo III, to protect the Vatican district from the incursions of the Saracens, surrounded with walls the town after him called Leonine (*Civitas Leonina*), the gate that was opened in the side of the walls corresponding to the present *Porta Santo Spirito*, was distinguished with the name of *Posterula Saxonum*, the gate of the Saxons. The Neronian bridge, or rather its ruins, were called the bridge of the Saxon quarter (*Pons in Saxia*).

Some further topographical indications about our *Schola* may be derived from close examination of the precious fragments of

two Bulls of Agapitus II and John XII, edited and illustrated by the learned Marini, in his collection of the *Papiri Diplomatici*. From these documents we learn that at the extremity of the quarter there was the *Portus Major* of the Tiber, where ships arrived carrying to Rome goods and passengers. This topographical indication as to our *Schola* might be adduced as a fit argument to support an opinion expressed by an anonymous writer of a Vatican manuscript, that the site of the *Schola Saxonum* was chosen just by the Tiber, to suit the convenience of those Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who came to Rome by sea.

From the beginning of the eighth century there are records of pilgrims or visitors, especially Franks (for instance, envoys of Charlemagne), who came to and from Rome *marino itinere*, that is, by sea. Therefore it is quite likely (and some facts might be quoted in support of this conjecture) that some of the Anglo-Saxons, too, if not directly from their native island, at least from France, may have come to Ostia by sea, and thence by the Tiber to the above-mentioned *Portus Major* of Rome, landing just at their national quarter, the *Vicus Saxonum* or *Saxia*.

By whom and when was founded this *Schola Saxonum* or *Anglorum*—for it is called in both ways by mediæval chroniclers and writers? In the year 725, Ina, King of the West Saxons, accompanied by his queen, came as a pilgrim to Rome, where he died three years afterwards, having renounced the crown and devoted himself to a holy life. To this monarch is commonly attributed, even by some modern writers, the foundation of a *school* or college, where should be educated the young clergymen that were to go to England as missionaries, and wherein Anglo-Saxon pilgrims should be provided with lodging and sustenance. It is also added that King Ina, to endow that college, obliged every family in his kingdom to pay annually a penny to the Roman Church; and this might have been the origin of Peter's pence. But this narrative rests entirely upon the authority of English chroniclers and other writers later than the twelfth or the thirteenth century; whilst Bede, who was contemporary with King Ina, though expressly speaking of his journey to Rome, does not say anything about the foundation of the school, nor of Ina's having instituted Peter's pence. Therefore, some English authorities of our days, amongst whom is Brewer, have stated that the credit of those two institutions must be attributed to another English sovereign, to Offa, King of Mercia. But it seems to me that even this opinion cannot be entirely approved by criticism.

In fact, writers say that in the year 793, Offa II, to atone for the crime with which he had stained his glory and successes by treacherously murdering Æthelbert, King of the East Angles, whilst sojourning at his court as a suitor for his daughter, came to Rome as a pilgrim ; and other chroniclers add also that in order to show his gratitude towards Pope Hadrian I, who had granted important privileges to the Monastery of St. Alban, Offa next day engaged all the families in his kingdom to contribute a silver penny for the support of the Anglo-Saxon school, which, as it is expressly stated, at that time was already flourishing (*quæ tunc Romæ floruit*). This evidence then proves that only the institution of Peter's pence is to be attributed to Offa, and not also the origin of the *Schola*. Thus the founder of this college remains unknown to us ; but its origin may be traced back to an epoch anterior to Offa and to that of Ina himself. Indeed, as I have hinted above, I am inclined to think that it already existed in the times of Pope John VII, who, in his Bull dated A.D. 705, speaks of a numerous Anglo-Saxon colony, composed for the most part of ecclesiastics, living in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's. And, as I have already advanced, it is probable that it was into the same school, and not into any other of the cloisters surrounding the Vatican Basilica, that those Anglo-Saxon kings and princes retired to a religious life, who, according to the early chroniclers, abandoned the world to end their mortal career in the vicinity of Peter's tomb. I am led o the same conclusion by a passage—also of great importance for our subject—which we read in the chronicle of Matthew of Westminster, where the chronicler, speaking of the Anglo-Saxon school at Rome, tells us that it had been instituted in order that the kings of England and the princes of royal blood, together with the bishops and clergy of the same country, might there be instructed in the orthodox doctrine and faith, to prevent errors creeping into the British Church.

Although religious teaching must have been the chief scope of the education imparted in our *school*, still literary teaching and secular culture were not at all neglected, as we find that they, far from being neglected, were given great attention to, both in the different schools of religious character instituted by the Popes at the Lateran or the Vatican, and in the *school* of the Franks, at the head of which Charlemagne ordered clergymen to be placed who were students of literature.

Then as regards our Anglo-Saxon *Schola*, this fact, as it appears to me, is expressly confirmed by the St. Alban's monk

who wrote the *Life of Offa*, when he says that the school at Rome had been established for the study of the English people and the education of pilgrims (*propter Anglorum studium et illuc peregrinantium eruditionem*). In this way that school, besides being a charitable institution for the sustenance and support of the poor or sick amongst the English pilgrims, must also have been the centre of Anglo-Latin culture and an efficient factor for spreading throughout England Western civilisation, represented then by the Church of Rome.

In comparison with the other schools of the Vatican territory, that of the Anglo-Saxons enjoyed a somewhat privileged position. Strict and hard were the provisions which, in the early Middle Ages, at Rome, and especially in the Leonine city, regulated the juridical and political condition of the foreigners, who were, generally speaking, in a much inferior position to that of the citizens. It was undoubtedly a result of the contempt with which the Romans of old looked on the unpolished *peregrinus*.

The foreign inhabitants of the Leonine town were formerly subject to the jurisdiction of the Pontiff or of the Vatican Basilica ; but a portion of this jurisdiction was at a later time conferred on the Church of the Saviour (the one now called of the " Campo Santo dei Tedeschi" by the Vatican Sacristy). To this church, amongst other privileges, the right was granted both of burying in its cemetery all the ultramontane pilgrims who died in the Leonine city, and of taking possession of the property left by the dead, which should have gone to the *Fiscus*, that is, to the Pontifical Treasury.

Now the Anglo-Saxon School, which was also subject to the jurisdiction of the Vatican Basilica and of St. Saviour's Church, obtained through Bulls of Leo IV and Leo IX the privilege to bury in its own cemetery or church all the English pilgrims dying either in the Vatican district or during their journey to Rome, and it was also allowed, perhaps, to come into possession of all property left by them. In this way we may explain the fact that the *Schola Saxonum* was obliged to pay each year some rent, as an acknowledgment, to the Church of St. Saviour.

The Vatican Basilica exerted its supremacy on the Saxon School in various ways, and chiefly by appointing the priests and other ecclesiastics who should direct it : the Pontiff, on his side, appointed its chief priest or *prior*, that is to say, the head of the institution. The chief duty of those clergymen, after the teaching and practical management of the school, was to act as guides to the

English pilgrims, by leading them to visit the holy places as well as the ancient sites and monuments of the town. These visits or excursions made here of old by the Anglo-Saxons have left some trace in the historical and archæological literature relating to Rome. Of this I had proposed to afford some evidence, but the details would take too much space without adequate reward. Suffice it to say that the legend, "Whilst stands the Colosseum, etc.", and another of the equestrian statues, now known as of Marcus Aurelius—at one time supposed of Constantine —are both found in English sources, and had origin probably in the Anglo-Saxon School.

From writers and chroniclers of the time, or little later, we get some scattered and meagre, but still precious, notices relating to the history and vicissitudes of our school during the course of the Middle Ages. I shall only relate the most interesting of these.

A notable event, which finds a marked place in the mediæval history of Rome, is the solemn entrance made into the Eternal City, in November 799, by Pope Leo III, on his return from a visit to Charlemagne. He was met at the Ponte Molle by the whole court, the clergy, the noble ladies, the civic militia, and also the *Scholae Peregrinorum*, that is, the schools of the Frisians, the Franks, the Longobards, and the Anglo-Saxons. From a passage in the biography of that Pope, which refers to the event in question, we learn a peculiar feature in the arrangement of those schools, namely, that in the solemn processions or meetings, in which they seem to have always taken part, as they did sometimes in the military defence of the town, the schools were wont to bear before them *signa et banda* (ensigns and banners). Ensigns, like those used by Roman armies, represented figures of animals, such as wolves, lions, eagles, bears, and dragons, etc., whence it happened that the men who carried them were called *lupiferi*, *aquiliferi*, *draconarii*, etc. *Banda*, then, were flags or banners: and of their peculiar fashion and form we can get an idea from a monument of the time, happily existing yet: the mosaic of Leo III's *Triclinium* at the Lateran, where Charlemagne is represented at the side of Leo in the act of receiving a banner or standard from the hands of St. Peter.

During the year 817 a fire damaged very severely the buildings of the *Vicus Saxonum:* the damages were afterwards restored by Pope Paschal II at the expense of the Pontifical Treasury. Not many years afterwards, in 847, a second fire, still more violent, burst out in the Leonine city, and caused heavy losses and damages

to nearly all the foreign quarters and other buildings surrounding the old Vatican Basilica; but that which suffered most damage was the *Anglo-Saxon School*, which came nearly to total destruction. The loss suffered by the same school was this time repaired by the order, and at the expense, both of Pope Leo IV and of King Æthelwulf of Wessex, who happened to be in Rome, where he stayed about a twelvemonth. This is the famous fire of the *Borgo*, painted by Raphael in the rooms of the Vatican.

Another Anglo-Saxon subject, as I might say, painted also by Raphael, in the Vatican Rooms, is the visit paid to the Vatican Basilica by King Æthelwulf, whom I have already mentioned. Æthelwulf came to Rome in A.D. 855, as Asser clearly states, whilst other chroniclers and writers do not agree about the exact date of his arrival here.

But it is more interesting to learn that, in the year 853, Ælfred, the fourth son of King Æthelwulf, came to Rome.[1] He was then a mere boy; but the Pope, Leo IV, took a great fancy to the future ruler and civiliser of England, for he adopted him as his own spiritual son, and, in sign of great distinction, invested the young prince with the dignity of Roman consulship, conferring on him publicly the girdle and the other peculiar *insignia* of Roman consuls. These details we draw from a letter addressed by the same Pope to Ælfred's father, before he himself came to Rome.

Not many years after Ælfred and King Æthelwulf, Burrhed, King of Mercia, having been banished from his own kingdom by the Danish invaders, came to Rome as an exile, and in the year 874 (as we learn from Roger's *Annals*) he died in the Saxon School. His body was buried with great pomp (*more regum*) in the contiguous Church of St. Maria in Saxia.

Canute, King of Denmark and of England, also visited Rome as an humble pilgrim: it is not well ascertained whether once or twice. It appears, from a letter which he addressed to the English clergy, that he must have been in this city in the year 1027, when the Emperor of Germany, Conrad II, was also here for the purpose of his coronation. From the same letter we learn that he had obtained from the Pope of the time, John XIX, certain privileges for English pilgrims coming to Rome, and especially that the Anglo-

[1] Asserius, in *Annales Alfredi*: "Æthelwulphus rex filium suum Ælfredum *magno nobilium et etiam ignobilium numero* constipatum honorifice Romam transmisit. . . ." In 855 Alfred visited Rome again with his father, who "cum magno honore Romam perrexit, praefatumque filium suum Ælfredum in eandem viam secum ducens, ibique anno integro remoratus est."

Saxon School there should be free from every tribute and taxation (*ab omni tributo et teloneo*), as these burdens seem to have been levied with great harshness on the foreign inhabitants of the town. In fact, this was not a new concession, but the confirmation of a privilege previously yielded by Pope Marinus II, at the request of King Alfred, but which had in short time been practically abolished.

From the first half of the eleventh century down to the time of Innocent III no further mention is found of our school; it must have remained abandoned on account of the long contests between the Church and the Empire. Moreover, it is to be remembered that the religious enthusiasm aroused by the Crusades caused a deviation of pilgrimages from Rome to the Holy Land, from the tomb of St. Peter to the sepulchre of the Saviour. Then the troubled condition of England before and after the period of the Norman Conquest must also have contributed to diminish the number of the Anglo-Saxons journeying to Rome. It was just on account of the seditious state of that kingdom that Pope Leo IX, in A.D. 1051, released Edward the Confessor from the vow he had made to come in pilgrimage to Rome. Then, in pursuance of the directions of the Pontiff, Edward employed the money he had first destined for the pilgrimage to build the church of Westminster Abbey, which he dedicated to St. Peter. The church was demolished during the thirteenth century, when the new minster was commenced by Henry III in honour of the Confessor himself; but for the first plan of the great English ecclesiastical monument we are indebted to the intended pilgrimage of King Edward.

From about the end of the twelfth century we already find that on the site of the old Anglo-Saxon School, either by the Vatican Basilica, or by some one of the Popes, a hospital had been erected, of which the care had been entrusted to some friars of the order of the Holy Ghost, instituted a few years before by a noble and beneficent gentleman, Guide of Montpellier. The hospital was afterwards restored and enlarged by Pope Innocent III, and, from the name of the contiguous St. Mary's Church, which alone had survived of the Saxon School, was called the Hospital of *Santa Maria in Saxia:* a name changed later on to the modern one of *Santo Spirito in Saxia.* Although thus, for these many centuries, the old and glorious Saxon School has disappeared, its memory has been localised and perpetuated until our days in one of the oldest and grandest charitable institutions in Europe. The name of Borough, also, with which the Anglo-Saxons were wont to indi-

cate their own quarter in the Vatican territory, gradually extended to the whole district of the Leonine city, and now serves to designate the fourteenth region of Rome (*Rione di Borgo*).

Every right that England might still have had upon the school and the church was practically renounced in favour of the Pontifical See by King John, in the year 1204, when by a solemn charter he granted to the new hospital of Santo Spirito a perpetual annuity of one hundred silver marks out of the revenues at the English Treasury, as well as the incomes of St. Nicholas Church at Wirtel.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some beneficent English residents in Rome founded, as a substitute for the school, two hospitals, one in the *Rione Regola*, and the other in the Trastevere, by Ripa Grande. This second one stood by a small church dedicated to Edward the Confessor, and was especially meant for English sailors. But during the sixteenth century these institutions were suppressed, and their incomes, or at least part of them, were assigned as an endowment to the English Ecclesiastical College, which had just been established by Gregory XIII, near Piazza Farnese, in the house where it was believed that Thomas à Becket had resided, when he came to Rome to escape the persecutions of his enemies in England.

Having thus far dealt with the Anglo-Saxon School at Rome, it is now necessary to say something about the origin and history of Peter's pence, which, as Archbishop Trench says, if afterwards adopted by others, was an English invention at first. The two subjects are intimately connected, because Peter's pence was started to support the school. It was called Rome-scot, Rome-penny, Hearth-penny, or, in Latin, *Denarius Sancti Petri*, equivalent to the modern name of Peter's pence. The last name must have been derived also from the circumstance that the money was exacted, as a rule, on the festival of St. Peter's Chains.

We have already stated that the origin of this contribution must be assigned, not to King Ina (as it is commonly believed), but to Offa II, when he came to Rome, and, having entered the Anglo-Saxon School, at that time still flourishing, engaged all the families in his kingdom of Mercia to pay annually a silver penny each for the support of the English pilgrims living in the Saxia. Æthelwulf, King of Wessex, the father of Alfred the Great, when he visited Rome in the year 855, seems to have carried and presented personally to Pope Leo IV the Rome-scot that he had gathered from the provinces of his kingdom; and it also appears that he increased the amount of that contribution by adding to it a per-

petual grant of 300 *mancuses*, or silver marks, which were to serve a hundred for the support of the lamps of St. Peter's, a hundred for that of St. Paul's, and a hundred for the personal advantage of the Pope. In process of time, when all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were united in a single monarchy, the different contributions also became one tribute in favour of the Holy See ; but a part of it, until the end of the twelfth century, was always employed by the Popes to support the Anglo-Saxon School.

From the laws of Edward I and Canute we learn that during the tenth and eleventh centuries the Rome-scot was not paid by English subjects with sufficient punctuality, so that it became necessary that those sovereigns should enforce, with definite penalties, the regular payment of what they style "the money due to Rome (*nummum Romae debitum*)." Also, when Canute of Denmark came to Rome, Pope John XIX harshly complained of the persistent negligence of English subjects in this respect, and then the king wrote to the people of England, ordering that they should pay with regularity "the pence", he said, "that you owe to St. Peter, from the towns as well as from the villages." And the abuse at that time was so great that the bishops retained, for their own advantage, the money exacted, or debtors limited themselves to make a symbolical offering of it to St. Peter on the altar of a church. To put an end to such an abuse, Pope Alexander II addressed to King Sweyn a letter, that has been preserved to us, ordering that the tribute should be sent directly to Rome. A similar complaint was made by Gregory VII to William the Conqueror, who then caused the money to be carefully gathered, and sent it to the Pope through Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury. The same king threatened in his laws heavy fines to negligent debtors.

In the earlier times the Rome-scot was exacted by the king's officials, and sent then to the Pope through some English dignitary or prelate : thus, for instance, we learn from the chroniclers that, in the year 888, King Alfred sent to Rome just for that purpose the thane Beocca and, two years later, Abbot Baeornhelm. Sometimes the offer was made personally by the king himself, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostles. But, in order to arrange the matter better, Alexander III appointed special officials, under the name of Collectors or Sub-collectors, whose duty it was to gather the contribution from the English families, and to carry the sums to Rome. Then, in the fifteenth century, Julius II, having created the College of the *Scriptores Archivii Romanae Curiae*,

granted, amongst other privileges, to the same body the revenues of Peter's pence.

Pietro Grifi, who just at that time was appointed by Pope Julius to act as a collector in the interest of the college already mentioned, has left us a fine parchment manuscript, now in the Vatican Library, where all the notices and documents that he was able to gather are registered, concerning both the history of the Rome-scot and the special functions of the collectors or sub-collectors. In this MS. he has preserved to us the exact text of a Bull by Gregory V, in which the Pope says that he has agreed with the archbishops and bishops in England that they should gather the Rome-scot at their own account and risk, and transmit annually to the Holy See, through the collectors, a definite sum for each diocese. The amount of this sum varied with the different dioceses, as we learn from the aforesaid Bull. The diocese of Lincoln, which was rated highest, was bound to pay forty-two pounds sterling, and the diocese of Ely, being rated lowest, had only to pay five pounds. But this must have changed in course of time, according to the increase or diminution of population in each diocese. Still, the total amount sent to Rome seems never to have exceeded two hundred pounds. Peter's pence was abrogated by Henry VIII in the twenty-fifth year of his reign; it was established again for a short time by Philip and Mary, and then it finally came to be suppressed during the first year of Elizabeth's reign.

The contribution of Peter's pence must not be confused, as some writers do, with the annual rent of a thousand marks, which King John, in the year 1213, obliged himself to pay to the Pope "for the redemption of his own soul and as a feudal vassal of the Roman Church", and, as the charter expressly says, "save in everything the tribute of Peter's pence" (*salvo per omnia denario Sancti Petri*).

Further interest in the Rome-scot was aroused during the year 1883 by a most unexpected discovery made during the course of the excavations, which then revealed to our eyes, after a burial during many centuries, the considerable remains, still extant, of the House of the Vestal Virgins.

In pulling down a wall of mediæval construction, resting upon one of the honorary bases in the Atrium of that distinguished Roman body, close by the Church of Santa Maria Liberatrice, a terra-cotta pot was found, which, besides a *fibula* of Pope Marinus II (died A.D. 946), contained more than 400 silver coins, nearly all

Anglo-Saxon. These coins belonged to kings of the tenth century, and were inscribed with the names of Edward I, Æthelstan, Edmond, etc., with exception of a few amongst them belonging to Archbishops of Canterbury. Commendatore De Rossi, who examined all the coins, wrote in the *Notizie degli Scavi* a very interesting paper to illustrate this fortunate discovery. He showed that the Roman Forum, where in the Middle Ages stood the fortification of the Frangipani family, protectors of the Popes, was not seldom the seat of the Pontifical Court and Curia; whilst it is certain that the Torre Cartularia (by the Arch of Titus, or of the Seven Candlesticks, to use the popular name it had obtained in those times) was the place where the most important books and papers of the pontifical archives were kept in safety from any hostile assault or violence. Then, from the circumstance that the coins were all Anglo-Saxon, not of very different time, and that mixed with them there was found an object very personal to the Pope, like a fibula, De Rossi expressed his opinion that the small treasure had been sent to the Pontiff by the Anglo-Saxons as Peter's pence, and that, in some sudden tumult or danger, it had been concealed for safety by one of the Pope's officials.

During the year 1888, it was announced that another discovery of the same character had been made in the Campagna by Ariccia; but, after close examination of the coins, it was found, to our great disappointment, that only one of them was Anglo-Saxon, and belonged to King Æthelred.

Having spoken of the intimate relations of the Anglo-Saxons with Rome, let us now consider how far this close intercourse may have affected English culture. The frequent visits paid by men of those people to Rome, then the centre of religion and civilisation, can alone explain many important historical facts, all tending to show how ready and spontaneous was the adoption of Roman manners and arts on the part of the new converts.

So great was the prestige very soon exerted by the name of Rome upon the minds of the Teutonic invaders of Britain, that their kings endeavoured to increase their own dignity by officially assuming some of the ceremonies of the old Western Empire. Besides adopting the Byzantine titles of *Basileus* and *Primicerius*, those semi-barbarous sovereigns called themselves pompously by the name of *Imperator*, *Flavius*, *Augustus*, *Rex*, or *Rector*. Very curious is a silver penny of Æthelbert, King of Kent, the first of the Anglo-Saxon princes to accept the Christian faith. The obverse bears the name and bust of the king, whilst the reverse,

together with the Latin title *Rex*, bears a representation of the she-wolf and twins. Thus, this coin, if genuine, is an evident imitation of those of Rome.

Edwin, who became sovereign of the whole region of Northumbria, and was converted to Christianity by Paulinus, assumed something of the state of the Roman Cæsars. A royal standard of purple and gold floated before him as he rode through the villages; a feather-tuft attached to a spear, the Roman *tufa*—a kind of military ensign—preceded him as he walked through the streets.

The effect of the civilising influence exerted by Rome is seen especially in the written laws. The dooms of Æthelbert of Kent are the earliest English documents which we possess, and they were reduced to writing shortly after his conversion; while Bede expressly mentions that they were compiled after Roman models *(juxta exempla Romanorum)*. Very soon the Roman alphabet was introduced in the island, and the use of the Runic characters gradually receded before the superior instrument. Latin became the official as well as the literary language. In fact, the adoption of the Latin tongue by the Anglo-Saxons was so ready and general, that, during the ninth century, Pope John X praised it, and proposed it as an example to the Slavs, who showed a great repugnance to abandon their national language for the foreign one.

With the Latin tongue came also Roman literature, pagan and Christian. The two chief schools, those established in the monasteries of Jarrow and of York, rendered illustrious, the one by Bede and the other by Alcuin, were direct emanations from Rome. Bede himself was never at Rome. A letter from Pope Sergius to Abbot Coelfrith has been preserved, in which he invites Bede to Rome; but the acceptance of such an invitation was probably prevented by the death of that Pontiff. Still, the frequent visits paid to the Eternal City by his learned friend and teacher, Benedict Biscop, had made up for any personal loss he might sustain; for Benedict brought from Rome, together with many different objects of art, manuscripts and pictures, which were copied and imitated in his monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow. Besides, it is ascertained that whilst Bede was compiling his chief and most precious work, the *Ecclesiastical History* of his own country, Pope Gregory II gave orders that the records of the Roman See should be examined for the monk of distant Jarrow.

On the other hand, Alcuin had several times visited Rome in company with many of his English scholars, who found here a more congenial sphere for their labours than in England, which

was at that time in a most troubled condition. In those days, the accuracy of the various manuscripts was a matter of supreme importance, and Alcuin specially laboured to make up for the errors of others, too often ignorant and ill-educated, who had been employed in transcription.

Ceolfrith, abbot, and teacher of Bede, having carried from the Pontifical Library at Rome into England some manuscripts, amongst which was an ancient Bible, had a magnificent copy of it made in his own monastery, where a skilful palæographic school was flourishing, and destined it as a gift to the Holy See. For this purpose he repeated the journey towards Rome, to offer the book personally to the Apostle Peter; but, when arrived at Langres, he died. Still, the offering was made, in Ceolfrith's name, by his companions in the pilgrimage, as Bede relates.

Commendatore De Rossi, with his extensive knowledge, and helped by the researches made by Professor Wordsworth of Oxford University, has been able to identify Ceolfrith's book with the so-called Amiata Manuscript (*Codex Amiatinus*) in the *Biblioteca Laurenziana* at Florence; and he has come to the conclusion that this beautiful parchment-book, written in the monastery of Ceolfrith and Bede, is the sole manuscript that we know with certainty to have belonged to the old Pontifical Library at the Lateran, the precious treasures of which were, at different times and for various causes, unfortunately dispersed. England is, perhaps, still in possession of some manuscript of the old Apostolical Library. The most famous book of the great Parker Collection at Benet, or Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is an illuminated manuscript of the Gospels in Latin, which some learned men think to be probably one of the very books that were sent to Augustine by Gregory the Great. Professor Westwood says that the drawings in this manuscript are the most ancient monuments of Roman pictorial art existing in England; and he further proceeds to say that, excepting a fourth century manuscript at Vienna, these are the oldest instances of Roman Christian iconography of which he can find any notice.

Another ancient volume of Latin Gospels, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, written probably in the sixth century, shares with the Benet Gospels the traditional repute of being one of the books that were sent by Gregory to Augustine. It has no miniatures, but it has rubrication, and it is in a similar style of writing to that of the Cambridge one just mentioned.

The monasteries were most intimately connected with Rome:

monks were always on the way to visit the centre of Latin and Christian knowledge. Wilfrith, Benedict Biscop, and other celebrated abbots used to journey to and from Rome, enlarging their own minds by intercourse with Roman society, and returning laden with works of art or manuscripts of value. The monks copied these manuscripts for their libraries and availed themselves of the illuminations as models, according to which they painted, in their churches, pictures, not without rude merit of their own. Roman architecture, too, came with Roman culture; wood building was supplemented by stone building, according to Roman rules or even Roman models.

The old cathedral church at Canterbury, which had been built by Christians during the Roman occupation, and which Augustine recovered and dedicated to St. Saviour, was finally pulled down by Lanfranc, in the year 1070. But there exists a written description of this old church by a man who had seen it, namely, Eadmer the Precentor, who was a diligent collector of traditions concerning his cathedral. "What makes his description especially valuable", Prof. Earle says, "is the fact that he compares it to St. Peter's at Rome, and he had been to Rome in company with Anselm." "Now, although the old Basilica at Rome was destroyed in the sixteenth century, yet plans and drawings, which were made before its demolition, are preserved in the Vatican," and also painted on the walls of the crypt of the modern Basilica; "and with all these data before him, Professor Willis reconstructed the plan of the metropolitan church of the Saxon period."

Roman music, of course, accompanied the Roman liturgy. One of the first missionaries sent to England with Paulinus was James, a Roman deacon, who on account of his skill in Roman church music was called the *Cantor* (Chanter). In later times, Abbot Biscop, wishing to promote in his own monastery at Wearmouth and Jarrow the same art, applied to Pope Agatho, who sent to England for that purpose John, the very *Archicantor ecclesiæ Sti. Petri*, that is, the chief chorist of St. Peter's Basilica. John was the Abbot of St. Martin's Monastery, and also the chief teacher, as it is believed, in the *Schola Cantorum* (singing school), instituted by Gregory and settled in a building by the high flight of steps leading to the Atrium of the Vatican Basilica. From that teacher Beda himself got his remarkable skill in church music. When afterwards the Anglo-Saxon School at Rome was founded, we are, as I think, justified in supposing that English ecclesiastics living there with the scope of instructing themselves in the genuine

Roman doctrine and liturgy, did not omit to attend the musical teaching, which was imparted in the neighbouring *Schola Cantorum*.

Finally, I would mention the many presents, consisting of skilled handicraft, passing from Rome to England; for they must be accounted as important factors in advancing, especially amongst the Anglo-Saxon court and nobility, the taste for Roman ornamental art and Roman fashion.

We constantly hear of Popes, to begin with Gregory the Great, sending to English kings, queens, and churches or monasteries, besides relics, sacred vessels in gold or silver, rich vestments, silks, precious crosses, rings and jewels. To give one or two instances, we learn that in the year 626 Boniface V sent to Edwin, King of Northumbria, some Roman dresses richly embroidered with gold, and to Edwin's queen, Æthelberga, a silver mirror and an ivory comb ornamented with gold or gilt (*speculum argenteum et pectinem eboreum inauratum*). During the year 884, Pope Marinus I, announcing to King Alfred that for the love of him and yielding to his request, he had exempted the Anglo-Saxon School at Rome from every kind of taxation or tribute, sent also to Alfred many valuable presents. Now the famous Alfred Jewel of the Ashmolean Museum, which, according to the general opinion, was a personal ornament of the great Anglo-Saxon king, is supposed by some to have been one of the very presents he received from Pope Marinus. Anglo-Saxon kings, on their side, also used to send or to offer personally to the Popes, besides large sums of money, valuable gifts, consisting very often of works in gold, silver, or precious stones, for, as it is well known, the Anglo-Saxons were very skilful in jewellery, and, generally speaking, in ornamental art: they developed a gorgeous form of decoration, which was recognised as a distinct style, and was known on the continent as English work (*opus anglicum* or *anglicanum*). Now, as in some old inventories of the *Vestiarium* or Pontifical wardrobe, we find many precious objects, described as being *de opere anglicano*, it is quite natural to think that they, or at least some of them, came into the Pope's possession from the liberality of Anglo-Saxon kings. At last, when that old and glorious dynasty came to a sad end at Hastings, the very standard taken on the battle-field by the Conqueror from unfortunate King Harold found also its way to Rome, where this notable trophy, presented by the Norman to Pope Alexander II, may have served to adorn one of the Lateran Halls, or even St. Peter's Confession in the Vatican Basilica.

DOMENICO TESORONI.

A GOTHIC INSCRIPTION FROM THE LAND OF ULFILAS.

IT was about the year 1838 when the rumour spread in Roumania that a treasury of gold and jewellery had been found in Petroasa, a small village in Wallachia. The Government then in power took immediate steps to ascertain the truth of this rumour, and eventually to get possession of the discovered treasure. The rumour proved true, but the Government had been forestalled by a clever Greek, Verusi, who had bought the whole treasure for a mere trifle from the unhappy discoverer, an ignorant peasant, who, like most discoverers, had indeed only to suffer through that fatal gift of the underworld gods, whilst the other reaped the full benefit of the *trouvaille*. In order to get at the truth, the poor peasant was subjected to various tortures, not always of a moral character.

The new owner knew the value of the treasure, and a good, perhaps even the best, part of it was cut to pieces and melted down before the officials could lay hand on him. All that was recovered is now preserved in the National Museum in Bucharest. Among those objects there are two or three bowls or ewers of gold, with handles of a peculiar shape, which give them the appearance of a hen, the neck turned upwards and the legs crossed. Popular fancy saw the figure of a hen in these ewers or bowls of gold; hence the name they bear in the mouth of the people, "the golden hen with her chickens." Popular belief also knows of such "a golden hen with her golden chickens" amongst the stars, as this is the Roumanian name for the Pleiades.

Numerous publications have appeared, in almost every European language, dealing with the treasure of Petroasa. The most complete and the most elaborate work, however, will be one from the masterly pen of Professor Odobescu, of the Bucharest University. He has devoted more than twenty years to the study of this national treasure, and his *magnum opus* will be published at the expense of the Roumanian Government.

Bad luck seemed to pursue this find, as if the gods of the nether world disliked parting with their treasures. Exhibited at the Paris

Exhibition of 1867, it came to London at the South Kensington Museum (where a cast of it is now to be seen) under very peculiar circumstances. After some delay, it was taken back to Bucharest, there again to be exposed to new dangers and to new losses. In 1875 a student of the University, named Pantazescu, entered the museum about midnight, and breaking the precious objects to pieces, contrived to escape with his booty, in spite of the soldiers on guard. He was, however, caught the next day, and all the stolen objects recovered—some, however, in a much injured condition.

It is with one of these objects that I wish now to deal. Among the jewellery found in Petroasa is a golden *bracteata* with a Runic inscription. According to the statements made by the discoverer, there must have been a pair of such *bracteatæ;* but one is irretrievably lost and the other badly injured by Pantazescu. Being one of the very few specimens of bracteates with a Runic inscription, this one attracted at the time the attention of various scholars, who have attempted to read the inscription. Hitherto, it must be confessed, the attempt has not been crowned with success.

The importance of the inscription is obvious, for, if read, it would solve the problem of the treasure. To whom did these gold vases, ewers, bracelets, and this dish belong before they were entrusted to the earth? The wildest conjectures have been hazarded. Some saw in them remnants of the old mythical Agathyrses, famous workers in gold; others recognised the treasure as having belonged to Decebalus, the last king of the Dacians, and been hidden by him before Sarmizegethuza fell into the hands of the Romans under Trajan; others, again, ascribed them to Mongolian and Tartar hordes, who swept the country for centuries.[1] The objects undoubtedly bear the mark of Oriental workmanship, of quite an original pattern, although Byzantine influence has been traced in various details. At any rate, the inscription supplies the only terminal *ad quem* for determining the date. The Runes point to a Gothic nationality. We know full well that such a nation inhabited the country where the treasure was found. It was the kingdom of the Goths in the fourth century. There Ulfilas flourished, and it was there that he translated the Bible into Gothic, which translation is the oldest monument of the Gothic language. It was from Dacia that the Goths made their predatory incursions into the defenceless Byzantine empire, whence they re-

[1] *Vide* Odobescu, *In. Columna lui Trajan*, viii, Bucuresci, 1878, p. 104, 199 *et seq.*

turned laden with rich booty. This may well account for the origin of these golden objects. Either they were brought home from such an expedition, or, what is less likely, they were made by native workmen, who imitated, in a rude and barbarous fashion, artistic and more elaborate models.

To judge, therefore, from the workmanship, it would seem that the treasure belonged to a Gothic tribe. This is fully corroborated by the inscription in Runic characters ; but what does the inscription denote? In solving this problem the learning of many a scholar has been severely tasked. The first who recognised the Runic character of the inscription was Professor J. Zacher. The researches made by W. Grimm, Massmann, Lauth, Dietrich, and others, have been ably summarised by Stephens,[1] who published a lithographic reproduction of the bracelet. He reads the inscription as follows : "Gutaenio Hwi haeïlaeg", *i.e.*, "Dedicated to the temple of the Goths."

One mistake runs, however, through all the readings and decipherings of the inscription. The characters are just scratched on the surface. They are, besides, rude and primitive, no space being left between the words, only the letters being separated from each other. This last-named fact has the result that the letters have been combined in the most extraordinary ways. The thinness of the lines has prevented even galvanoplastic copies from being correct. Such very minute characters could not be well reproduced, and thus it happened that only *fifteen* letters were counted, whereas there are, in fact, or rather there were originally, *sixteen*, for the inscription was very much damaged by the thief in 1875. Professor Odobescu has been the first to discover[2] that there was a small Runic character, representing the sound *c* (cên), between the *seventh* and what is now the *ninth* letter. The reading, therefore, according to Professor Odobescu, is : *Gutani ôcvi hailag.*

The various Gothic objects with inscriptions hitherto known have either the name of the maker engraved upon them or a kind of invocation of luck and happiness for the bearer of the bracelet or the user of the vase. The interpretation proposed by almost all the scholars, gives quite a new form of solemn invocation to this particular inscription. The last word, read by all *hailag* (sacred, or dedicated), denotes a more solemn formula. The real difficulty lies in the previous two words. Although from a grammatical point of view

[1] G. Stephens, *The Old Northern Runic Inscriptions*, London, 1867-68, pp. 567-573.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 119.

gutani is not a very correct form, we could still see, in allowing some liberty to the inexperienced engraver, an archaic form of the dative of *gutan*, Wodan, meaning "To Wodan, . . . is dedicated". The four middle letters are read by Professor Odobescu as *Ocvi*, and he finds in them the old name for *Scythia*, given to that country by the Goths, as recorded by Jornandes. The whole inscription would thus be: "*To Wodan Scythia is dedicated.*"

Besides the very problematical identity of *Ocvi* with *Ovim*, the form the name has in Jornandes, this dedication of a whole country to Wodan, or to any other deity, is, as far as I know, quite unique. If one thing is of more importance than another in archæological and antiquarian, as well as in other kinds of scientific research, it is to reduce the number of unique phenomena, and to unite them to a definitely classed or at all events better-known type. There must be a certain similarity in the inscriptions of similar bracelets, and this makes us diffident in accepting the accuracy of the new solution.

Leaving, however, the readings of the inscription as very doubtful, another difficulty presents itself: For what was the bracelet intended? It is too large for the arms or *ankles*, too small for a *collar*, round the neck of powerfully-built Goths. Together with this bracelet, three similar ones, without inscriptions, have been found in Petroasa, and the number of analogous rings or bracelets of Gothic and ancient origin in various museums is very great. An ingenious hypothesis has been put forward by Busching in order to explain the origin and use of these bracelets. The prevalent idea is that they were a kind of sacred rings, belonging to the temples. Upon them, dipped in the blood of the sacrifice, solemn oaths were taken in the name and in the presence of Wodan. Grimm, in his *Rechtsalterthümer*,[1] speaks more amply about it, and many writers on Northern antiquities mention these *oath rings* (Schwur-ring).

This institution is itself obscure in its origin; equally so the primitive meaning of the ring. I will venture an explanation, starting from an altogether different point of view.

In various countries, more especially in Panonia and Dacia, a great number of smaller and larger rings have been disinterred from time to time. The most recent of these discoveries, which I believe has remained entirely unknown in the west of Europe, is one made in 1880, in Turnu-Magurele, a small Roumanian town, situated not far from Bucharest. The objects found there by chance are five

[1] Second ed., Göttingen, 1854, p. 895.

cylindrical tubes of gold, two of silver, and one of electrum (gold mixed with silver), a small gold tube with ornamentation and 433 small pieces of gold in the form of rings. Mr. Sutzu has devoted an admirable study to this treasure in the Roumanian *Revista pentru Istorie Archeologie şi Filologie*, i, p. 1-16, 1882. The result of this research has been the proof that this treasure consisted of the coinage of the land which existed long before the Roman conquest: for stamped coins came into the country with the Romans, and even shortly before that event coins were already fabricated in Dacia.

The history of coinage reveals everywhere the same beginning: *i.e.*, the currency of precious metal by weight. The monetary system of the four or five centuries B.C. in Asia Minor, Greece, and the countries round the Pontus was mostly the duodecimal, and the current coins were the Persian Dareikos, the Macedonian Stater, and above all, the Stater of *Kyzicos*. Placed at the entrance of the Black Sea, Kyzikos absorbed all the gold coming from Scythia and Dacia, and circulated it under the form of coins in all the principal places of Europe. Demosthenes speaks of them, and in the inventory of the Parthenon they are also mentioned. This Stater of Kyzicos served as monetary unity for all those countries. As has been proved by Kiss[1] and others, rings and bracelets which are scattered throughout Europe stand, when weighed, in a certain proportion to one another, proving thus that they are based upon an ancient monetary unity, and very likely served also as current money.

The objects found in Turnu-Magurele do not leave any doubt about their monetary character and value, and that their monetary unity is that very same Stater of Kyzicos. Three of the large tubes (or bracelets) weigh respectively 127 grains 84, *i.e.*, almost exactly 8 Kyzic staters of 16 grains; the second, 95 grains 7 = nearly 6 Kyzic staters; and the third, 96 grains = exactly 6 Kyzic staters.

Still more conclusive is the result obtained from the comparison of the weight and mutual relation between the 433 small ringlets. The stater of Kyzicos, given at 16 grains 20 maximum and 15 grains minimum, $\frac{1}{4}$ would be 4.0-5-3.80, or on an average 3.89; $\frac{1}{6}$ or hectea, 2.69-2.50; and so in the same proportion all the subdivisions of the Kyzicos, which are all following the duodecimal system. The same proportion prevails now throughout those

[1] *Die Zahl u. Schmuckringe*, Budapest, 1859. Cf. Gr. G. Tocilescu, *Dacia inamte de Romani*, Bucuresci, 1881, p. 152 *et seq.*

small ringlets of gold, representing the exact duodecimal subdivisions of the Kyzicos, establishing thus the monetary character, and to a certain extent the date of these fabrications—that being not later than the 4th century B.C.

Applying the result we have obtained, and bearing in mind the similar monetary character of rings, collars, and bracelets found elsewhere, it is certainly not too bold a surmise to recognise in the gold rings of the sacred rites nothing else than monetary unities, the legal standard, deposited in the sanctuary, under the guardianship of the gods. Phœnicia, Babylonia, and other ancient civilisations had similar legal standards of weight, and thus of their monetary system, in the shape of lions and other animals, bearing inscriptions—sometimes of a secular character, simply the name of the engraver, like so many Runic inscriptions; others, on the contrary, of a solemn, sacred character, like that on the golden bracelet dedicated to Wodan.

This would easily explain how it happened that the ring, the representation of the correct legal standard, through which false weight and false measure were made impossible, how that ring, when its pristine use was forgotten through the introduction of real coins became spiritualised, the emblem of moral equity and truthfulness, and served as a sacred ring at solemn oaths.

M. GASTER.

THE ABBEY CHURCH OF BERNAY.

THE small town of Bernay, in Normandy, lies on the line to Paris, between Lisieux and Evreux, in the department of Eure. Though its situation in a valley surrounded by well-wooded hills is picturesque, it has nothing particular to commend it to the ordinary tourist; but to the archæologist and architectural historian it has a single object of especial interest in the now desecrated church of its ancient abbey. This especial interest lies in the facts that it is to all appearance the earliest building with a recorded date which can be called distinctively "Norman" in style, and that it has at the same time one feature—the domical vaulting of the aisle—which in Norman building may be regarded as unique.

The abbey of Bernay was founded in 1013 by Judith of Brittany, wife of Duke Richard II and grandmother of William the Conqueror, and completed some time after her death, in 1024. The monastic buildings, no doubt, underwent several subsequent transformations, and, like many others in France, were finally rebuilt as they now appear in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Since the Revolution they have been appropriated by the Government, as is also usual, for various public offices, such as the sub-prefecture, library, museum, etc. The west front of the church was rebuilt at the same time, but the greater part of the original structure remains. This also has been turned to secular uses, and few would suspect that behind the dilapidated Renaissance façade of the Corn Hall, though it retains the outlines of a church of noble proportions, there lay one of the most interesting architectural relics of the eleventh century. Yet on entering, no one with an eye for architecture can fail to be impressed with its basilican aspect, and a certain grandeur in its lofty walls, with massive oblong piers and simply decorated arcade, disfigured though it be with some tasteless seventeenth century additions in plaster. To an eye acquainted only with English architecture it might have an air of novelty, because we are unaccustomed to such a combination of great size and extreme simplicity. But those who have previously seen Cérisy-la-forêt, Jumièges, or St. Stephen's at Caen, will at once perceive that this church is one of the same class, and

recognize a type of early Norman work which depends for its effect on size rather than on the minor decorative details which we are apt to associate with it. Not that this type was unknown in England: the transepts of Winchester, both in plainness and size, vie with any of these four Norman churches; but in England we have not the means of appreciating the effect of a whole building like this, because in some cases, as at St. Alban's and Chichester they have been altered or in great part rebuilt; and other Norman churches, such as Gloucester and Tewkesbury, or Durham, have special peculiarities which remove them from this category.

Of the three churches with which I class Bernay, Cérisy was re-founded by Judith's son, Robert the (so-called) Devil, and finished by his son, William the Conqueror, who also appears to have taken a special interest in the rebuilding of Jumièges,[1] and about the same time founded the abbey and church of St. Stephen. The four, therefore, form a group closely allied in the circumstances of their origin as in their structural features, and were all founded, if not actually built, before the Norman conquest. It is true that the two later differ from the earliest in having the triforium vaulted, and that Cérisy and Caen have a gallery at the end of each transept, a peculiarity which seems to have no significance as to date; but Bernay differs from all the others in a point of some importance, viz., in that all the arches in the main arcade and crossing have on the soffit the large roll-moulding—the repetition of the semicircular pilaster on the piers—which is almost peculiar to Norman work. I will refer again to this feature after a more general description of the church. It was visited in 1831 by Gally Knight, and about twenty years later by Inkersley, since which time some portions have been demolished. Their notes are therefore useful, but they are too brief and not quite accurate; and I hope the building may be thought of sufficient importance to justify a more detailed record of its present condition.

The Norman work that is now left comprises the five bays of the nave and its south aisle; all the south transept except its apsidal chapel; the crossing, and two bays of the choir with its aisles.

The north aisle of the nave appears to have been rebuilt in the 14th or 15th century. It has pointed, ribbed vaulting, and is the only part of the church which has buttresses. We have still,

[1] Dehinc vero paulo post in Normanniam regressus [Gulielmus] ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ in Gemmetico cum honore magno dedicari jussit (1067).—*Will. Gemmet.*, vii; *Ap.*, Inkersley (*Architecture in France*).

therefore, the whole church as it existed in the last century, except the north transept and the three apses of the choir and transepts —unless, indeed, the choir extended more than two bays to the east of the crossing, which does not seem probable.

Knight's statement that there were originally two aisles on each side of the nave is a mistake, as the original windows exist in the south aisle. He seems to have been misled by the arches on the west wall of the south transept; these, however, exist solely to support an inner gallery at the triforium level, the front of which extends upwards to the top of the transept, though it has large apertures in front of the clerestory windows. Knight also omits to notice that there was a triforium in the nave as well as in the transept. It is closed and plastered over, and the faint indications which can be seen were possibly absent in his time. But from inside the space over the aisle-vault it is evident that there were openings similar to those at Cérisy, consisting of two small arches beneath a larger one. These, as at Cérisy, have been carefully blocked up, and the dividing shaft has disappeared; but the original arrangement is shown in a sketch given by de Caumont,[1] which also shows the shallow, round-headed panels which in some Romanesque churches take the place of the triforium, but here were interspaced with it. Both nave and transept have single round-headed clerestory lights.

In the east wall of the transept below the clerestory are three double round-headed openings (now filled up), which are probably those described by Knight as a triforium. They certainly have that appearance; but as there is no aisle in the ordinary sense, it is not clear into what space, if any, they opened. There was an apsidal chapel projecting from this wall, and its arched entrance, filled up, is still visible below this quasi-triforium; but as the outside could not be examined, I cannot say how it was roofed. The eastern termination of the church is gone; the original apse is said to have been replaced by a later Gothic one, which has also disappeared; the two bays of the choir and aisles are closed in by a recently built wall with doors in it.

The alterations at the west end are not altogether obvious. It is possible that the church originally extended two or three bays further in that direction, as the abbey buildings project beyond it, and Norman churches on this scale generally have more than five bays. There is a rough edge of masonry at the south-west quoin, which may indicate some shortening, but the facts that the west

[1] *Abécédaire*, p. 192.

front has two flamboyant windows, and was apparently refaced in the seventeenth or early part of the eighteenth century, show that it has undergone more than one renovation, and make the original arrangement altogether doubtful.

The most remarkable feature, and the one for which the church is most noted is, of course, the vaulting of the south aisle. It is described and illustrated in Petits' *Architectural Studies in France* (p 40). It is strictly domical vaulting with horizontal courses of small brick-like stones. It is somewhat flattened at the top, being rather spheroidal than spherical ; but it is to be noted that the whole vault forms one curved surface, and has no separate pendentives, the dome being carried down uninterruptedly into the angles of each square compartment without edge or break. I am not aware that this sort of vault occurs anywhere else in France, unless it be over the nave at Fontevrault ; the domes of Aquitaine generally having the ordinary Byzantine pendentives, *i.e.*, triangular or other portions of a larger sphere. The choir-aisles are not vaulted in the same way ; they have the plain groined and ribless vault usually found in early Norman and Romanesque.

Mr. J. H. Parker, whilst admitting the presumed age of the main parts of the structure, says that the greater part of the ornamentation has been entirely changed in the twelfth century.[1] He neither explains what he regards as ornamentation, nor on what grounds he assumes that it has been altered. There is comparatively little decoration in the building, but I presume that he refers to the carved capitals of the semicircular pilasters, and to the two inferior orders of both piers and arches, which, from the mode of their construction, necessarily go with the capitals. For nearly all the piers and arches are composed of three orders, viz., a principal order of rectangular section, a similar one recessed, and an innermost order of semicircular section. Now Mr. Parker's assumption is supported by the fact that, though the two inner orders are worked together in single blocks, they are not bonded into the outermost order, but appear to make a straight joint with it throughout the work. Nevertheless, the masonry in both inner and outer portions shows no difference in the thickness of the joints. It is all wide-jointed, instead of the inner orders being more finely jointed than the other, as would be the case in twelfth century additions ; and the horizontal courses correspond so closely in level as to give the impression that they must have been laid at the same time.

Moreover, the direct evidence of the capitals themselves seems

[1] *See* Rickman's *Gothic Arch.*, 6th ed., p. 102, and Parker's *Introduction.*

to me to be opposed to the theory of a later alteration. They are of the same class of art as those of Cérisy, *i.e.*, they are decidedly more ornate than many that were used at a much later date, and show a greater affinity with old Romanesque or Byzantine art than any which are commonly seen in England. The rude Corinthian type, with one or two corollæ of curling leaves, is frequent. There are some which have only the corner volutes, with the plain facet of uncarved stone between them—a well-known sign of early Norman work. A few are wholly covered with surface-carving of arabesque foliage, which might, from its workmanship, be thought later than the rest, were it not that in surface-work Romanesque art is always at a far higher level than in sculpture; and that capitals of this sort are really more unlike the type which ultimately prevailed than the ruder ones. There are capitals of this Byzantine kind at Cérisy also, but in neither church is there any form of the plain cushion, which appears to be commoner in England.

The occurrence of the roll-moulding on the under surface of the arches is really the most difficult fact to account for, because it does not occur in the other churches I have mentioned. But, on the other hand, it does occur in the earliest work at Evreux, which cathedral was dedicated in 1077, and must have been constructed contemporaneously with St. Stephen's, Caen. Besides, at Bernay, as elsewhere, the roll-moulding goes with the semicircular pilaster of the piers, and similar pilasters are found in all these early churches. To take away the two inner orders from the arches would involve a corresponding alteration of the piers, and would reduce the original building to a bareness far exceeding that of the others, and utterly discordant with buildings which, in size, in plan, and in date are closely in accord with it. It is to be remembered that this mode of decorating an arch was not absolutely unknown to earlier buildings. Though it is so characteristic of Norman buildings, it was not invented by Normans. In its earliest form, in which the whole archivolt has a simple curved section, it may be seen at Deerhurst Church; a more developed Anglo-Saxon specimen, more like the Norman form, is found in the tower-arch at Sompting, and probably others might be indicated. Its occurrence in Normandy in the early part of the eleventh century is therefore not an impossibility.

Were there no other objections to Mr. Parker's theory, it would seem to me untenable on two grounds—(1) the unlikelihood that such additions would be made to nearly every arch in the church, including the large arches of the crossing, when in other cases, as in the

early work at Fécamp or at Winchester, we find later improvers perfectly content to leave flat-soffited arches in their original condition; and (2) the mechanical difficulties of thus altering the work without entirely rebuilding the upper portions of the church. It seems necessary therefore to accept the recorded date, or to adopt, as an alternative, the theory that the church was practically rebuilt sixty or eighty years after its foundation, which, however, is contradicted by the manifestly early character of the masonry and the absence of important features, such as the flat external buttresses, the internal roofing shafts or pilasters, as well as of smaller ornamental details which are found at Cérisy, Jumièges and other churches of the eleventh century. The only external decoration which is original consists of a billet-moulding round and between the window-heads, a common early Romanesque ornament.

I have dwelt on this point of date because it seems to me of great importance in its bearing on the origin of Norman architecture. On the whole, it seems less difficult to give Judith of Brittany, or her husband, Richard II, credit for all the Norman features of the church, than to adopt either of the alternative theories; and I hope we may believe that, early as is the assigned date, we have here the first typical Norman as distinguished from other forms of round arched building, and recognize in the massive pier of the northern Romanesque, and the domical vaulting of the southern or eastern, a new mingling of wandering elements which was destined to be fruitful in great results; and see in this first methodical treatment of the rounded archivolt the germ that was ultimately developed into the complexity of purely Gothic arcuation.

I may add that de Caumont mentions this church as one of the eleventh century, without remark as to the ornamentation. His illustration exhibits a feature I have not alluded to, viz., the slightly horse-shoe form which many of the arches, especially those of the lantern, possess.

Amongst the few remaining details that need be mentioned is a curiously joggled arch, now filled in, in the south wall of the aisle, near the transept. It originally led into the cloister, if there was one. Each voussoir has an angular indentation in each side, to admit of the insertion of a diamond-shaped stone—a curious and unnecessary precaution for additional strength.

In the north choir aisle, a tall archway—whether door or window, or both, is doubtful—has been inserted in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The mouldings come down to the ground. Besides this, and the reconstruction of the north aisle, there is little mediæval

alteration. But in the seventeenth century many of the capitals have been disfigured by additions in plaster of cherubs' heads and drapery. It is not difficult to distinguish the original carving from this. The capital upon which Gally Knight noticed the inscription *Me fecit Izembardus*, I could not find. Possibly it was in the north transept, or in one of the apses, which all seem to have been standing when he visited the church in 1831.

The greater part of the internal walls and vaults are covered with plaster; there are traces of pink and yellow paint in parts, and in some places there are remains of the painted lines, imitating joints in the stonework, in the usual red ochre.

There are considerable difficulties in examining this building, owing to its being divided amongst various occupiers. The west compartment of the south aisle is divided from the rest, and used as an entrance to the maison d'arrêt on the south of the building; the corresponding compartment of the north aisle is occupied by the commissaire de police. The east compartment in the south aisle is the fire-engine station. The rest of the ground-floor is open, and used as a store for grain and lumber. But the transept has a floor inserted at about the level of the capitals of the nave arcade, and this is divided between the town band and the Gymnastic Society. The existence of this floor has some advantage in allowing an easy inspection of the triforium.

I believe this building is not yet made a *monument historique*. Perhaps, in the interests of archæology, it is not desirable that it should attain that dignity, with its probable accompanying penalty of a thorough restoration. But it is much to be desired that some measures should be taken to preserve it from further destruction, and to permit those who take an interest in such things to inspect freely what seems to me to be in some sense a unique monument of early French art, and an important landmark in the history of mediæval architecture.

NOTE.—The internal dimensions of the church are approximately as follows: —*Length*—Nave (5 bays), 90 ft.; crossing, 30 ft.; choir (2 bays), 30 ft.; transept (from crossing), 37 ft. *Width*—Nave, 30 ft.; aisles, 15 ft.; transept (from inner wall), 25 ft. *Height* to top of wooden waggon roof of nave, about 66 ft.

EDWARD BELL.

QUARTERLY SUMMARY

OF

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERY & WORK IN GT. BRITAIN.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS.
- Alton.
- Belfast.
- Eastbourne.
- North Ballachulish.
- Drummond Hill, Taymouth.
- Dunston (Newcastle).
- Wycombe.
- Stow, near Duns.

ROMAN REMAINS.
- Beddington.
- Bristol.
- Botley.
- Elveden.
- Threxton.
- Christchurch.
- Winchester.

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS.
- Burray Island.
- Rochester Cathedral.
- Canterbury Cathedral.
- Milton-next-Sittingbourne.

MEDIÆVAL CHURCHES, ETC.
- Newcastle.
- Lambourne.
- Wingrave.
- Condicote.
- York.
- Ellesmere.
- Rossett.
- Canterbury.
- Wycombe.
- South Petherwyn.

COINS.
- Neville's Cross.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS.

THE bones of a large-sized beaver have recently been discovered in a small wood known as Lynch Hill, on the banks of the river Wey, at Alton. Mr. Thomas, of the Osteological Department in the Natural History Section of the British Museum, reports that they are in the sub-fossil state of preservation—half fossilized—and a remarkable feature in remains so ancient is that the orange colouring on the front enamel of the great teeth is brighter than that upon any of the teeth of animals shot in Canada and France recently. The bones will probably be preserved in the local museum.

An interesting find is reported from Belfast. Dr. John Moran, of that town, has found a tooth of *Elephas primigenius* in the drift gravels at Larne Harbour. The following is the succession of beds in ascending order: 1, older boulder clay; 2, coarse gravel with rolled stones (3 to 4 ft. thick); 3, coarse gravel with rolled stones (6 to 10 ft. thick); 4, silt, or rather coarse laminated clay (3 to 5 in. thick); 5, a second layer of coarse gravel with rolled stones (18 in. to 2 ft. thick); 6, dark surface layer (18 in. thick) containing neolithic implements of a rude type. It was in bed No. 4, formed from the denudation of the newer boulder clay, that the tooth was found.

A report of a recent find of an urn near the Belfast water works, at

Woodburn, was given to the Belfast Natural History Society on March 5th. It was from a description supplied by Mr. George Reilly. The urn was found in a stone cist, covered by a large flagstone. It was placed mouth upwards, and contained ashes and calcined bones, which were shown.

While excavations were being made at Eastbourne, in the garden of Hon. Charlotte Ellis, a cinerary urn was turned up at a depth of 3 ft. 6 in. It is black in colour, and about 10 in. in height, and contained a quantity of calcined bones. Another urn, some 2½ in. high, and of a greenish colour, was also found. Besides some fragments, forming the handles of a large vase, a bronze pin has been dug up in a good state of preservation.

Some workmen, while digging near North Ballachulish, came upon a prehistoric grave. The urn is made of peat, with powdered granite and mica schist kneaded in to give strength. The specimen is unique, as those which have been hitherto discovered are all of clay.

An interesting "find" was recently made by a young girl whilst gathering a burden of small wood under what is traditionally known as the "Roman Camp", situated on the top of a high cliff on the eastern part of Drummond Hill, behind Taymouth Castle. The relic is a perfect specimen of the ancient celt, and has been purchased by the Marquis of Breadalbane.

The *Newcastle Chronicle* reports that some interesting discoveries have been made during the past few weeks in the course of the excavations for the foundations of the new Co-operative Flour Mill on the fore-shore of the river Tyne at Dunston. A very old canoe was reached, but unfortunately it was so much damaged before its true nature was discovered as to be unfit for preservation; and there were also found portions of the horns of deer.

On a hill on the south side of Wycombe Valley, in the month of December last, as the farmer was guiding his plough, one of the horse's feet slipped into a hole. This hole proved on examination to be the interior of a large cinerary urn. There was no elevation showing a barrow, which must have been levelled many years ago by cultivation, for the field is called "Barrow Croft".

The ruins of a broch have been discovered on the Stow estate of Lady Reay. Some Edinburgh archæologists visited the ruin, and it was hoped that this might lead to an exploration under the supervision of experts, but nothing of this kind resulted from their visit, and the discoverers of the ancient fortress or dwelling of a race unknown in history were reluctantly forced to get the work done in the best way available to them; and the *Scotsman* reports the following facts. When the broch was discovered it presented to the inexperienced eye only a low flattened mound of loose stones capping the apex of a peaked height 1,020 feet above the sea-level, precipitous on the south-west, and declining on the north-east by a gradient of about 5 degrees from the horizontal towards the hill stream called Halkburn. But the north-east margin of the pile consisted of large stones

plainly disposed in a circular position, suggesting building. A cursory examination showed that the ruin was the base of a wall 13½ feet in thickness, of uncemented, undressed stone, enclosing a circular space 32 feet in diameter. This was enough to prove that the ruin belonged to the architectural type well known in the north and north-west of Scotland as brochs. The first step in exploration was to clear out to the floor the interior space enclosed by the wall. It consisted of stones and black earth, and it was meant to pass all the earth through a riddle, so that any needle or pin of bone it might contain would not escape observation. The earth, however, was found to be too humid to pass through the riddle. There is no reason for holding that this made any difference as to the result, for the men were so careful in removing the *débris* that every fragment of bone was easily distinguished and laid aside. When the interior had been cleared out to what was considered the level of the original floor, it was seen that the floor consisted of fine clay that had been hardened by fire after being laid down. Its colour, a bright red, approaching pink; its hard, compact texture, portions of it less decomposed by weathering than the mass being scarcely distinguishable from recent-made brick, were held to prove that the clay had been baked by fire. The undersides of portions of it were plainly marked by longitudinal grooves and variously shaped depressions such as soft clay would take if pressed down on a rough stony bed. No lines could be seen on the upper surface to suggest a paving of previously burned brick. The substance used had been pure and very fine clay, without any admixture of sand. The flooring on the south-west side for a distance of 4 yards in length by 1 in width was pavement of flat, irregularly shaped stones. These were lifted, and found to cover loose stones that had evidently been used to fill a natural hollow in the rocky site on which the broch had been reared. At many places the floor was strewn with black dust and pieces of wood charcoal, the larger fragments about 1 inch cubes. The investing wall, wherever examined, was found to be laid on rock *in situ*. The next step was to dig up and to remove the flooring, and this done, it was found to cover, to an approximate level, the out-cropping margins of the Llandoveny grits dipping at a high angle, and striking north-easterly across the site of the broch. So far, no distinctive relic of the broch age was found. Not a fragment of a broken quern, or stone vessel, or bone implement was disinterred. Several teeth of horses, fragments of the skeletons of sheep, rabbits, and of smaller animals, probably mice and birds, were picked up —all of which might have been placed there after the work was a ruin. The teeth of the horses invited some consideration—as modern conditions are against their existence on a lonely hill-top; but it was once part of the forest grazings of the Melrose monks, who kept herds of wild horses, and the wolves of that period may have dragged into the ruin of the broch portions of such game on which they preyed. Only one specimen of bone found was faintly suggestive of the broch-men. It is 3 inches in length by 2 in width, thin, and very much decayed. The cells are so large as to

be suggestive of the osseous structure of the cetacea—and it is known that the builders of the northern brochs made some of their tools out of large bones of the whale; but the fragment under consideration is not in the least tool-like, and it is safest to draw no inference from its cellular character. Fragments of three earthenware vessels were found above the level of the original floor. All have been shaped on the potter's wheel, and hard baked. The diameter of the largest of the three must have been about a couple of feet, and portions are almost 1 inch in thickness. One of the vessels has been so hardly baked that it rings like metal when struck. When the interior of the work had been fully cleared out it was found that the investing wall was 13½ feet in thickness, from 12 to 18 inches in height, without any trace of cement, and on the exterior margin having a foundation of large boulders. The inner margin is in places founded with large stones, but in other portions of slabs that a child might handle. Among the ruins the two larger blocks now visible are 7 feet and a few inches in length, by over 2 feet in width, the one being about 12 inches in thickness and the other about 24. From this maximum blocks of all sizes down to mere splinters have been used in the structure. The diameter of the open space within the wall does not vary more than 6 inches—the average of four cross measurements being 31 feet 9 inches. Most of the larger stones are boulders that have been shorn of their angles by travelling, but some of them are so angular as to suggest that they have been torn from the beds on which the broch stands. The entrance to the broch was easily enough determined, and is on the north-east side, which, as already said, is a gentle slope. At one side of the passage half of the original foundation has been preserved; at the other side, only one of the foundation-stones—so far as can be reasonably judged—remains. Measured thus, the width of the passage at the inner end has been 4 feet 8 inches—in harmony with entrances to some of the northern brochs, as described by Mr. Craig. The outer half of the passage is entirely ruinous, and its original character cannot now be determined. Aware of the fact that the best "finds" of broch relics were got in ash deposits, a cursory search for one or more of these was made near the Bow broch, but without success. The surface is natural grass, and on both sides the peak is so freely exposed to blasts from the south-west that no ashes could rest on their surface. But on both sides, and also in front of the broch, traces of ash-heaps were sought for by picking into the grass over low knolls, but no charcoal was seen. It was intended to clear the exterior of the wall all round, but the non-discovery of anything of the slightest value was so disheartening that this was not carried out. The broch has occupied nearly all the apex of the peak, but on the slope on the north-east side, where the entrance is, are what seem to be artificial flats of approximately circular form, defined by the foundations of stone dikes. One such leaves one side of the work, and runs down the slope about 150 yards, to where it has been cut off by cultivation. This wall must have been at least 3 feet in thickness, and is plainly con-

nected with the broch. That the building was a broch, as defined by Scottish archæologists, there is no room to doubt or question, and it is one of the only two at present known south of the Forth. Probably there are between the Forth and the Cheviots many mounds which, if examined, might turn out works of the same type. Had this Bow "Castle" been in a moist valley its gray weather-bleached stones would long ago have been buried under rank grass or waving bracken, and pilgrims in Borderland might examine stony mounds for traces of these old and interesting buildings.

ROMAN REMAINS.

During April some farm labourers while ploughing at Beddington, came upon some solid brickwork, in shape like the usual apparatus for heating a bath. It is in two compartments about six feet in width. Further excavation may lead to the unearthing of a Roman villa, as happened in 1860 about one mile from this spot, and on the same farm, and it is hoped the Croydon authorities will give facility to the Surrey Archæological Society to pursue the exploration.

What appears to be Roman remains have been found in Mina Road, Baptist Mills, Bristol. A leaden coffin containing a skeleton was first unearthed. Not many feet from this were discovered indications of a stone coffin, and upon further excavations on May 1st, some workmen came upon a "stone-cist", measuring inside 7 feet long, by 22 inches wide, by 20 inches deep, composed of slabs 2 to 3 inches thick, the largest being 5 feet by 30 inches. In this grave also, human remains were visible, though in a very decomposed state. They were evidently the bones of a man of great proportions. Two nails, about six inches long, were found at each corner inside the cist, proving that the body was put into a wooden coffin prior to interment, head to the east. On May 14, a second "stone-cist" was dug out very similar to the one described, and containing a skeleton—head to the north-east. These burials were made close together. almost in a direct line, and all found about 5 feet below the surface, Roman coins have been picked up in the neighbourhood.

Some Roman tiles have been found below an ancient canoe, the discovery of which, at Botley, Hants, was reported in our pages, *ante*, vol. ii, p. 254.

Mr. Prigg has made some interesting discoveries at Elveden, near Thetford. Excavations on the site of an ancient burial-place revealed three large urns of brown ware, which had been deposited with their necks downwards, and covered over by a circular *situla*, some of the metal mountings of which remained. The urns have the appearance of having been intended for burial purposes, but although burnt bones were met with outside the circle of the *situla*, none were found with them. Mr. Prigg referred to the local controversy that has arisen relative to the age of the deposit, it being contended that, because some ornamentation of Celtic style occurs on the mountings, the date must be pre-Roman. They are, however, of undoubted Roman date.

A bronze key of Roman date was found during May, near Threxton, Norfolk. It was of more elaborate pattern than usual, and was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on May 16.

A figure of terra-cotta, apparently Mars, has been found near the Roman camp in the valley of Christchurch.

In the course of some excavations in Hall Court Wood, near Winchester, the property of Admiral Murray Aynsley, the site and remains of a Roman potter's kiln, 7 ft. 9 in. in diameter, have been uncovered, the base being overgrown with underwood. Fragments of pottery of the Roman period were also found in the wood.

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS.

What is supposed to have been a hidden treasure was found on April 25, in the North Town Moss, Island of Burray, Orkney, by George Petrie in cutting peats for fuel. Sheriff Armour, accompanied by Mr. James Cursiter, secured the treasure, which consists of silver coins, armlets, and necklets. The articles when found were in a wooden vessel or bowl which fell to pieces when taken up. The coins are of the eleventh century, and belong to the following reigns—Eadward, Ethelred the Second, and Eadgar. There are twenty-five armlets or bangles, two neck rings of silver wire, and other articles, all of which are in a beautiful state of preservation, and all of solid silver. The largest armlet or bangle weighs over two ounces, while the smallest is about half an ounce. Sheriff Armour took possession of the treasure on account of the Queen's and the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. Through the courtesy of Sheriff Armour the articles were exhibited in a shop window in the town, and were inspected by a great concourse of people. A similar treasure was found in Skail, Sandwick, Orkney, in 1858.

The foundations of an old apse have been found at Rochester Cathedral, running under and through the foundations which underlie the Norman west front of the cathedral church. The Rev. Greville M. Levett has written an interesting letter to the *Times* which discusses some of the features of this discovery and we reprint a portion of his letter: "I do not hold the opinion, which I am reported to hold, that this apse belongs to what was once a 'small Roman temple'. I do not know that I am yet in a position to hold any opinion at all about the remains; but I am inclined to think they belong to the church of stone which King Æthelbert built here in 604, the year in which St. Augustin established the sees of London and Rochester, Mellitus and Justus being the first bishops. That there was already a Roman basilica in use as a church at Canterbury is almost certain, and that the Rochester church was therefore built upon the basilican type is at least likely. If our apsidal remains really belong to Æthelbert's church, we have found one of the very first stone churches that the Saxons built in our country. Later on they gave up the basilican plan, and built their chancels with square ends, which have ever since been characteristic of pure English style."

The Rev. Canon Routledge reported on March 6 the results of some antiquarian researches which have recently been made in Canterbury Cathedral, by permission of the dean. The west wall of the crypt is found to be of earlier date than the Norman portions, which are partially built upon it. The hardness of its mortar and other indications lead to the supposition that the wall is of Roman date, and part of the ancient church which Augustine found on the spot on his arrival at Canterbury.

The discovery at Milton-next-Sittingbourne, reported *ante*, vol. iii, p. 136, of a skeleton, with which was a glass vessel and a massive Roman gold ring, turns out to be Saxon and not Roman. At some little distance was a spear-head. The ring bears evidence of having been much worn. It is set with a cornelian intaglio, engraved with the figure of a winged Cupid driving a *biga*. It has fortunately been secured by Mr. Humphrey Wood of Chatham, and will probably be engraved for the *Archæologia Cantiana*.

MEDIÆVAL REMAINS.

During the first few weeks of April several interesting discoveries have been made on the ground being excavated for railway extension in Newcastle. The site is one of the oldest portions of the old town, and here and there large blocks of masonry and other portions of the massive "old town wall" have been uncovered. Between Orchard Street and Hanover Square the remains of a Gothic structure, supposed to have been a church, have been disclosed. A small arch in an excellent state of preservation is at present to be seen, partially hidden from view by alterations which have made portions of the ancient structure do for modern habitations. Coins, stones bearing curious workmanship, and carved woodwork, have also been dug up. In the ground surrounding the building supposed to have been a church, a large number of human bones have at various times been found, and this would lead to the supposition that the site has been the burial-ground in connection with the sacred edifice. A large oak coffin has been unearthed near the railway wall in Orchard Street. The coffin was found seven feet below the surface of the ground. The workmen took off the lid, which was of an arched shape, and found the skeleton of a full-grown person inside. The coffin and remains were conveyed to the tool-house.

The ancient and interesting church at Lambourne, in Essex, is now undergoing reparation. When the workmen removed the floor-boards in an old pew, they found a brass consisting of full-length male and female figures with a plate bearing the following inscription: "Of your charity pray for the souls of Robert Barfoot, citizen and mercer of London, and Katharine his wife, which Robert deceased xxv day of June in the year of our Lord God MCCCCCXLVI., on whose soul Jesu have mercy." This church is very small, and consists of chancel and nave with a turret containing three bells. The north doorway has a fine Norman arch. Thomas Wynnyffe, Bishop of Lincoln, 1642-54, was for some time rector, and with

his father, John Wynnyffe, gent., of Sherborne in Dorset, who died in 1630, is buried within its walls.

The parish church of Wingrave has been reopened by the Bishop of Oxford after restoration. The church consists of chancel, nave, with clerestory, and aisles, the tower being at the west end of the building. The earliest work is in the chancel, in which are some remains of specimens of Norman architecture. Decorated and Perpendicular windows have been inserted in various parts; the piers and arches of the nave are late Decorated. The general design of the exterior, which is embattled throughout, is late Perpendicular, with good windows; the south porch is modern. The restoration has been very extensive; but those responsible for it claim that in every case the ancient detail has been carefully reproduced. The *Bucks Advertiser* published the following note on an interesting fact in the history of the church: "There was a bequest made many years ago to Wingrave Church, but at so early a date that the donor's name is not now well remembered. The object of the gift was for providing rushes on the feast Sunday wherewith to strew the church. On the inclosure of the open fields in 1798 three roods of meadow were set out in Wingrave in lieu of the ancient rushlands. The three roods were formerly let at 21*s.* per year, which rent was paid to the parish clerk to provide grass or rushes to strew the church on the village feast-day.

Mr. H. C. Ivatts has sent to the *Antiquary* a communication on the church of St. Nicholas Condicote, Gloucestershire, which was re-opened on January 12, after restoration. This interesting little Norman church consists of nave and chancel, with a porch on the south side and a bell-cote at the west end. The chancel-arch, a fine specimen of dog-tooth supported by pillars, with some beautiful chiselled work on the east side of the piers, and the arch of similar construction but smaller span which, supported by two pairs of pillars with cushion capitals, forms the south doorway, have been cleaned and the defective stonework well restored; the sixteenth century three-light Perpendicular window has been removed from the east end of the chancel and placed on the north side of the nave facing the door—sufficient traces of sills, etc., having been discovered in the course of the work for the reconstruction on their original lines of a pair of lancet windows above the communion table—these, with a lancet of later date in the south wall, give sufficient light to the chancel, and it has not been thought necessary to re-open two other windows, traces of which may be seen on both north and south walls of the chancel, internally as well as externally. The leper's window in the south wall, and the interesting little early English piscina have, of course, been retained. The fine square-headed window, with its saint's bracket, in the south wall of the nave, gives ample light to the pulpit and adjacent pews. The porch has been entirely rebuilt, its roof considerably raised, several interesting fragments of carved stone which have turned up being built into its west wall. A trench has been formed on the outside of the walls, the foundations of which have been strengthened by new masonry; the level of the floor has been lowered

some feet so that the church is now entered by a descent of three steps, and the interior of the walls, denuded of their plaster, have been thoroughly renovated. A fragment of what was apparently the original font has been found, but this is not a sufficient guide for its reconstruction; and the more modern one, a massive stone basin on a polyangular stem and steps, and lead-lined, though of little interest, has been removed from the north wall to a position just within the south door. The roof has been retiled and the timbers left bare internally. The stone cross which surmounted the east wall of the nave has been removed and placed upon the already existing base and column over the well in the village, a new cross of larger size and more suitable design being substituted; the modern bell-cote has been similarly replaced by one constructed more in accordance with the style of the building, and also surmounted by a cross.

A discovery of great interest has been made in York Minster. Workmen engaged in sanitary improvements in the old Song School unearthed a beautiful tiled floor about two feet below the ordinary stone floor, and beneath the gas and water-pipes. It was in a wonderful state of preservation. The tiles have been taken up, to admit of the necessary excavations, and meanwhile some human remains, evidently of great age, have been dug up.

For some time it has been apparent that the east wall of the chancel of the parish church of Ellesmere has been sinking. The church is built on a mound which stands many feet above the level of the streets that skirt two sides of the churchyard, and the end of the chancel runs quite near to the retaining wall surrounding the churchyard. Mr. Pearson was consulted, and he recommended the under pinning of the side walls of the chancel and the entire rebuilding of the gable-end.

Among items of "restoration" news we notice a movement is on foot for the restoration of Rossett Parish Church, at a cost of about £4,000, and that Old Malton Priory Church has been re-opened after restoration. With all its rich relics of the monastic era, Yorkshire has only one memorial of the Gilbertine order, and that is St. Mary's Priory Church at Old Malton, which, in fact, is the sole church of the only English monastic order ever founded that is still used for public worship.

A very handsome fresco of twelfth century style has been discovered in St. Anselm's Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral. The chapel was originally dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and the fresco, which is of large size, and beautifully coloured, represents the last-named apostle in the act of shaking the snake by which he was attacked after the shipwreck at Malta, from off his hand into the fire.

Mr. Edward J. Payne recently communicated to the *South Bucks Free Press* the following in reference to an interesting discovery at Wycombe Church. "The restoration of the outside of the parish church has brought to light a relic which, if I interpret it rightly, should henceforth be an object of peculiar interest. It is a piece of rough walling, built of the native boulder stone from the beds which overlie the chalk at Denner Hill

and Walter's Ash, and forming the lower part of the west wall of the north aisle of the nave, below the great west window in that aisle, and close to the tower. The masons' sheds at present hide it from view; but after these are gone it will be conspicuous from one of the most frequented of the town thoroughfares, and my object in writing is to express a hope that those who have the control of the restoration works will leave it just as it is, because there can, I think, be little doubt that it is a remnant of the original church, built at his own expense by Swartling the thane, and consecrated by St. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, soon after the Norman Conquest. It will be noticed that it does not occupy the entire breadth of the west aisle wall, but stops short near the buttress. This shows that the building of which it originally formed part was somewhat narrower than the present one: while its materials, situation, and general appearance indicate it as a genuine fragment of the earlier church. If this is so, it is the oldest bit of building in the town.

The church of South Petherwyn, near Launceston, has been reopened after restoration. It contained a fine old font of thirteenth-century work, a good seventeenth-century pulpit, some excellent carving in the roof, and a portion of a very fine old oak rood-screen. But it is allowed that the building was in a deplorable condition from damp and other causes; the arcades and walls were undermined by numerous vaults and graves; both the north and south arcades were from 14 inches to 18 inches out of the perpendicular; several of the granite windows have been blown in, and renewed with deal casements; the roof had been mutilated and whitewashed. The rafters and ribs were in a rotten condition, and gave free access to rain and draughts. The architect, Mr. G. H. Fellowes Prynne, is said to have framed his plans with due regard to the features and details of the fabric, but we gather from the descriptions of the work that more than enough concession was made to present notions of taste. During the progress of the restoration many remnants of ancient work were found built into the walls, notably an almost complete Norman capital, with sufficient stone of the shaft to show the dimensions of the original columns, which were no less than three feet in diameter; two early fourteenth-century coffin-covers with trefoil crosses cut out on them; portion of a fine old altar tombstone cut in polyphant, and part of a stoop of fifteenth-century work. From all these remains it is evident that a church of considerable size existed on the same site in the early part of the twelfth century, and it seems probable this early building rested upon the foundations of a still earlier and more rudely built church.

COINS.

A young man named Markey was bird's-nesting near Neville's Cross, and near the foot of a tree saw what appeared to be a pot sticking out of the ground. In picking it up it smashed, and a number of coins fell to the ground. Taking them first to be checks, he afterwards found out

what they really were, and sold about forty at Durham, where they were melted down. Others he took to a town councillor of Durham, Mr. Fowler, who, perceiving that they were English and Scotch coins in a good state of preservation, bought them at a fair price. The rest, with a portion of the urn, were secured by Mr. George Neasham, of the Durham University. The urn is about 9 inches high, and of mediæval workmanship. The coins are groats, half-groats, and pennies of the two Scottish kings, Robert Bruce and David II, and the first three Edwards of England. The collection of these interesting coins, all now in the possession of Mr. Fowler, includes a large number of pennies from the royal and episcopal mints of Durham and York. The inscriptions show that the groats and half-groats of Edward III were struck in London and at York.

REVIEW.

La Tombe Basque, Etude des Monuments et Usages Funéraires des Euskariens. Par Henri O'Shea. 12 Eaux-fortes de F. Corèges. (Pau, 1889.)

Mr. Henri O'Shea has followed his delightful volume, *La Maison Basque*, published in 1887, by the present equally charming *La Tombe Basque*. Both are works of serious interest to the archæologist; they abound in curious learning, and are distinguished quite as much by the poetic beauty of their style. Mr. O'Shea drapes the aridities of archæological discussion with rich flowers of poetry and fancy, until sometimes, beautiful as its blossoms may be, we almost fear lest the shrouding parasite should hide from us the tree on which it feeds.

The first person, as far as I am aware, to draw attention to the archæological value of some of the Basque tombs was the artist, M. Ludovic Letrone. Some eighteen years ago he made excellent etchings of some of the stèles at Itzatzou, near Cambo, on the Nive. These were published, if I remember rightly, in the *Bulletin de la Société Ramond* (Bagnères de Bigorre). The next to take up the subject was M. A. Landrin, the zealous Conservateur of the Musée d'Ethnographie at the Trocadéro. He remarked these tombs on his visit to the Pays Basque some three years since, and spoke of them to the present writer. He seemed then to share my opinion (since proved erroneous) that the ornamentation was merely that of village masons making trial of their compasses. Hardly had he returned to Paris, however, when he wrote to say that they were something very different; that he had found a remarkable coincidence between these tombs and the Etruscan at Boulogne, and that they had a real archæological signification. Whether M. Landrin has published anything on the subject, or whether he has been hindered from so doing by his multifarious labours, I do not know.

Mr. Henri O'Shea proves conclusively, by the excellent examples given in his plates, that M. Landrin was fully justified in assigning a likeness of these circular-headed Basque funeral stèles to Etruscan art. But he has gone further, and has compared them

not only with the Etruscan, but also with the stèles and crosses of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man. The Basque ornamentation seems to stand, as it were, half-way between Etruscan and Keltic lapidary work. This fact is most important in its bearing on the difficult and disputed question of the relations between the Basque and Keltic races. But this we can only allude to.

The book opens with a picturesque description of actual funeral customs among the Basques. Among a people like them, where ancestral customs and usages are often preserved in particular families only, it is hardly possible that such a sketch should be exhaustive; and it would not be difficult to supplement it on some points. The corpse in some families is still carried on an open bier, and buried in its clothes, instead of being enclosed in a coffin. Mr. O'Shea has himself given one curious example of this in the case of a priest in *La Maison Basque* (note, p. 24), and we have known others. A singular custom, not referred to, observed in various districts of the Pays Basque, is that of lighting a fire at the nearest cross-roads to a house in which a death takes place. Every passer-by is supposed to say a *pater noster* for the dead, and in some instances to throw a stone at the same time on to a heap by the wayside.

After this description of funeral rites and customs the real subject of the work, the archæological examination of the sculptured tombstones and stèles still existing among the Basques, is entered upon. There is, unfortunately, great difficuity in deciding the age of the oldest of these stones. The climate of the country, with its humidity and rapid changes of temperature, is not favourable for the preservation of exposed sculpture. The stone employed in the village churchyards, where alone these stèles are now found, is rarely of good quality. Thus, it is only on the supposition that existing stèles are traditional copies and types descended from a far higher antiquity that we can assign to them their antiquarian value. But there are other instances which show that the Basques, the most conservative people of Western Europe, continued practices of antiquity long after they had been forgotten and abandoned by other races.

The thesis set forth in this volume may be studied almost as well in the careful plates as in the learned commentary of the text upon them. Plate iii shows how the first elements of this ornamentation—among others, the *swastika* or fylfot cross—are found in most widely distant countries as well as among the Basques. The Japanese *tomoyé*, or phallic emblem, is still to be seen on many an

old Basque house, but of course without the least idea of that signification. In plate iv, the cruciform stèle from a Cypriote coin is almost identical with some crosses still to be found in the churchyards; but the figure taken alone is too simple to build a theory upon. In plate v, we have Etruscan stèles from Boulogne, and here the resemblance to the Basque examples is indubitable. Plate vi, fig. 1, gives us a cross from Kilklispeer, Kilkenny. We have only to compare this with fig. 6, plate xi, a Basque cross from Urcuraya, to see that the ornament is the same. The ornamentation of fig. 3, plate vii, from Aberlemmo, Scotland, is similar to that of some tombs at Louhossoa, not reproduced here. It is impossible to compare the figures in plates vi, vii, which give examples of Keltic stèles and crosses, with the Basque examples on plates viii, ix, x, xi, without acknowledging the identity of the type. These examples are taken from a small portion only of the Basque country; richer discoveries may be made elsewhere. The churchyard of Louhossoa was (perhaps is, notwithstanding the great destruction of these monuments in the country churchyards during the last twenty years) richer in such monuments than any of the places here named. At Ste. Engrace, and at some other places, some of the stones seem to be planted face downwards in the earth, and these, if examined, may prove to have preserved details lost elsewhere.

But Mr. O'Shea has written enough to prove his main theme. I confess that I do not follow him in his adoption of Professor J. Campbell's (of Montreal) theory of the absolute identity of Basque with Etruscan and other languages; nor do I think that the Hittite is yet sufficiently settled ground to build sure theories upon; but all this is mere accessory and accidental to the main argument. The further comparison of these tombs and their ornamentation with the Etruscan on the one side and with the Keltic on the other should be fruitful in results. The tracing out the hidden or missing links in so long a chain, of which we have such few fragments, cannot be devoid of interest and instruction. To Mr. Henri O'Shea belongs the honour of first directing archæologists to what we believe will prove a fruitful field of research and of discovery.

WENTWORTH WEBSTER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE NORMAN EXCHEQUER.

I FIND, on my return from wintering abroad, that Mr. Hubert Hall has contributed to the *Archæological Review* (Feb. 1889) a paper on a subject which we have both studied, the National Treasury and Exchequer in the earliest stages of their development. Mr. Hall, I observe, has carried further that system of assignment by the "Camera Curie", on which he lays so much stress. He now tells us that "in the reign of Henry II the place of the Treasury and Exchequer was supplied by the Camera or Ministry of the Privy Purse audited by certain quasi-Barons of the Exchequer in their original capacity of gentlemen of the bed-chamber" (*ante*, vol. ii, p. 389). These officers, he adds, were the "Camerarii, also called Milites or Barones (see *Fantosme*, lines 2021-3)." Now, on referring to this passage in Fantosme (Rolls ed.), we find that it proves the exact opposite. The picture given is a very striking one. It is a summer night in 1174; the weary and anxious king has lain down to rest "en sa chambe demeine"; he is just being lulled to sleep by a kind of Oriental *massage*:

> "Li reis iert acuté e un poi sumeilla,
> Un vadlet à ses piez ki suef les grata;
> N'i ont naise ne cri ne nuls n'i parla,
> Harpe ne viole nul d'ure n'i suna."

Suddenly the silence is broken; a messenger has arrived from the North and demands instant admission. The watchful "gentleman of the bed-chamber" ("li chamberlens") tells him that the king is sleeping and must on no account be disturbed, but Henry wakes at the sound of the knocking and orders the messenger to be admitted. He listens to the glad tidings of victory, and becomes at once "so merry and joyful" that he rushes out to where his knights are sleeping and rouses them to hear the news :—

> "E li reis est si liez la nuit e si haitié
> Qu'il vint as chevaliers, si' s ad tuz esveillié:
> Baruns, esveillez-vus!" (lines 2021-3).

Here we see the "Camerarius" ("li chamberlens")—or "gentleman of the bedchamber"—not identified with, but, on the contrary, distinguished from, the "Milites or Barones" ("Chevaliers, Baruns"). These latter, so far from being "quasi-Barons of the Exchequer", are merely the king's followers. Fantosme, Mr. Hall will find, speaks of the "baruns" of London; he makes William de Vesci address his followers as "Barons,

Knights" ("E dit: 'Baruns, chevaliers,' à ceus de sa baille"); and Roger d'Estouteville exhorts his garrison as "Gentilz baruns cumpaignuns!" while the King of Scotland addresses their besiegers as "Gentilz baruns chevaliers!" In none of these cases were the contending hosts composed of Barons of the Exchequer.

On the wider "controversy which may be allowed to centre", as Mr. Hall has truly observed, "in the position of the Royal Treasury before the close of the twelfth century," I will say no more at present than that the evidence adduced by me as to the one Royal Treasury, under the one Royal Treasurer, being still in Winchester Castle as late as "1135, and even 1141," remains unshaken and indeed unassailed, and is fatal to the view "that a dual Treasury must have existed from the reign of Henry I" (*Antiquary*, xvi, 163). As to the reign of Henry II, Mr. Hall is, I see, modifying his views, and now admits that "there was undoubtedly a central Treasury at Winchester". Nor, indeed, could the evidence of the Pipe-Rolls, as appealed to by himself, point to any other conclusion. That the latter part of this reign, however, was, in this matter, a period of transition is highly probable, and the rapid development in administration which then took place may well have dealt the *coup de grâce* to the ancient "Hoard" of the Anglo-Saxon, the "Treasury" of the Norman kings, guarded by the historic ramparts of Winchester Castle.

J. H. Round.

THE BUDDHA'S ALMS-DISH.

Supra, vol. iii, p. 257.

The following extract from Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India* (vol. ii, p. 87) may be of interest as a pendant to Mr. Nutt's interesting essay on "Buddha's Alms-Dish":—

"The antiquities of *Parashâwar* [Peshawar] are described by Hwen Thsang in great detail. Of these the most sacred was a ruined *Stupa* near the north-west corner of the city, which had formerly contained the *Alms-bowl* of Buddha. In A.D. 402, at the time of Fa-Hian's visit, the holy vessel was still there, although the King of the *Yuchi* had endeavoured to carry it away. 'He brought a large elephant richly caparisoned and placed the bowl upon the elephant, but the elephant fell to the earth unable to advance. He then constructed a four-wheeled car, and placed the bowl thereon, and yoked eight elephants to draw it, but they were unable to move a step. The king then knew that the destiny of the bowl was not yet fulfilled.' Afterwards, when Fa-Hian visited Ceylon, he heard that 'the *Pâtra*, or Alms-bowl, of Buddha originally was preserved in the city of Vaisâli; but now it is on the borders of Gândhâra. In somewhat like a hundred years it will again be transported to the country of the Western Yuchi.' In the diary of Sung-Yun there is no mention of the Alms-bowl; and as the reigning King of Gândhâra was not a

Buddhist, it is most probable that the bowl had already been removed. In A.D. 630, when Hwen Thsang visited Gândhâra, the bowl was in Persia. Strange to say, this once famous vessel still exists near the modern Kandahar, where, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, it is held in much estimation by the Muhammadans."

So far as it goes, the actual temporary disappearance of the Alms-dish is an interesting parallel to that of the Graal.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

In the article "Recent Research in Numismatics" (*supra*, vol. iii), correct *Trophonius* for *Triphonius* (p. 249, lines 29 and 35); and *no small portion*, for *a small portion* (p. 254, line 7).

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THE ROMAN WALL:

A RECONSIDERATION OF ITS PROBLEMS.

THE Roman wall, as everyone knows, stretches from Wallsend on the Tyne to Bowness on the Solway, a distance of about 73½ miles. It is generally regarded as a double mural fortification, consisting of a stone-wall on the north and an earth-wall, or, rather, a series of earth-walls, on the south. By recent writers the stone wall has been called "the murus" and the earthwork "the vallum". This nomenclature I adopt, not in acknowledgment of its accuracy, but because it has become customary. The murus is provided with a ditch along its north side, and the earth-walls, which are three in number, have also a ditch between the first and second, counting from the north. The vallum, it should be mentioned, is shorter than the murus by about 3½ miles at each end. For a considerable distance, a road, running between the two walls, and usually called "the military way", may be distinctly traced. At each end of the murus is a walled camp or station, and between these are fifteen others, most of which are in contact with either the murus or the vallum, or with both. The line of the murus is broken not only by the camps, but by a series of smaller fortresses, called "mile-castles", situated at an average distance of about a Roman mile from each other. Between every mile-castle and the next there have been three or four turrets or watch-towers, but of nearly all these the traces have entirely disappeared.

Further general description of these structures is not needed for my present purpose. The reader who desires fuller information about them may consult the third edition of Dr. John Collingwood Bruce's work, *The Roman Wall* (London and Newcastle, 1867), or his more accessible *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (London and Newcastle, 1885).

It was generally held by antiquaries of the older school that Agricola built or planned the camps, and a military way connecting them ; that Hadrian built the vallum ; and that Severus was the builder of the murus. Long ago, however, the theory was put forward that the vallum and the murus are parts of one design, and were planned at one time and by one person ; but the Rev. John Hodgson, the author of the *History of Northumberland*, was the first writer who avowed the belief that Hadrian was the builder of both walls. In the last published volume of his great work, near the end of a lengthy and most valuable account of the wall, he says :

"In the progress of the preceding investigations I have gradually and slowly come to the conviction that the whole barrier between the Tyne, at Segedunum, and the Solway, at Bowness, and consisting of the vallum and the murus, with all the castella and towers of the latter, and many of the stations on their line, were planned and executed by Hadrian." (*Hist. Northumberland*, part II, vol. iii, p. 309.)

The volume from which this extract is taken was published in 1840. Eleven years afterwards Dr. Bruce published the first edition of his *Roman Wall*, in which a chapter, occupying twenty-four pages, is devoted to the question, "Who built the Wall?" His verdict is that Hadrian was the builder of both murus and vallum, and he says :

"It is difficult to conceive how any person can traverse the line of the barrier without coming to the conclusion that all the works—vallum, wall and fosse, turrets, castles, stations, and outposts—are but so many parts of one great design, essential to each other, and unitedly contributing to the security of a dangerous frontier." (P. 387.)

Two years later appeared the "second and enlarged" edition of Dr. Bruce's book, in which the chapter on the builder of the wall is retained. But in his new preface the writer mentions, as one of the results of his later visits to the mural region, "a thorough conviction of the correctness of the view maintained in the former edition, that the lines of the barrier are the scheme of one great military engineer." Presently he adds :

"Fortunately for the investigation of truth upon these and other interesting archæological questions, the attention of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland has been turned to the antiquities of the ancient Northumbria. The beautiful and very accurate survey of the Watling Street, between the Scottish border and the Tees, with all the camps and stations upon it, which has just issued from the press, is the fruit of his liberality ;

a thorough examination of the station of Bremenium is now going forward by his orders; and he has further given directions for making a survey of the whole line of the barrier, from sea to sea. . . . The survey of the wall by so accurate a draughtsman and so zealous an antiquary as Mr. MacLauchlan will be an invaluable contribution to the materials for compiling the early history of Britain. Many of our views and theories will be tested by the severity of mathematical investigation; the whole of the line will be laid under the inspection of the student in his closet, so that many who are now prevented by distance from examining the subject will be able to do so, and give to the world the benefit of their observations; new camps will probably be discovered; the exact bearing of one part of the mural region upon another will be demonstrated, and the spirit and design of the whole brought out in a way which they have never yet been." (Pp. x-xi.)

All this was evidently written in anticipation that MacLauchlan's survey would confirm and support what I would venture to call the Hadrianic theory. In due time that survey was completed. The results were "printed for private circulation" in 1858. No one can read the Memoir by which MacLauchlan's maps are accompanied without discovering that the writer had made himself thoroughly conversant with everything that had previously been written about the wall, and that he had examined the arguments of Mr. Hodgson and Dr. Bruce with all possible candour. That he was aware of every fact and circumstance by which they had attempted to maintain their position, his numerous foot-notes abundantly attest. What, then, were the conclusions at which he arrived? He writes in anything but a dogmatic style. After declaring that his conclusions "in a great measure coincide with those of Horsley", he proceeds to say:

"It seems probable that the stations were made by Agricola, and walled at some subsequent period; [and] that the north rampart of the vallum was made at the same time as the stations, as a line of road (*via militaris*) between them, forming in itself at once a way and a line of defence raised above the level of the country.

"It is probable that the vallum was made by Hadrian, at all events, before the wall.

"The wall and castles may have been made or designed at the same time, after the walling of the stations, commenced, perhaps, by Severus, and finished, or repaired, by his successors." (*Memoir written during a Survey of the Roman Wall*, p. 89.)

It is unnecessary, at this point, to offer any comment on these conclusions, further than to remark that they are opinions which resulted from the most careful and analytical examination of the

walls, with all their adjuncts, which has yet been made. The reasons MacLauchlan puts forward in support of his conclusions will be discussed in a later part of this article.

Nine years elapsed between the issue of MacLauchlan's *Survey* and the publication of the third, and hitherto the last, edition of *The Roman Wall.* Therein the Hadrianic theory is avowed as distinctly as before. In a paragraph which mentions the measures which Hadrian's experience and military genius showed him were "necessary for rendering permanent the Roman dominion in the upper isthmus of England", we are told that "the chief of these was the construction of that chain of fortresses—linked by roads and covered by a wall—which it is the object of this work to describe" (p. 14). So, at last, we have the avowal that the whole "mural barrier"—earth-walls, stone-wall, fosses, stations, mile-castles, turrets, and military roads—is the work of Hadrian.

The Stations.

It is due to Dr. Bruce to say that he elsewhere acknowledges that it "is more than probable" that Agricola "built some of the stations—those especially which command the passes between the north and the south" (*R. W.*, 3rd ed., p. 375). I have sought in vain, however, in his pages for an explicit statement as to which of the stations he believes to have been built by Agricola and which by Hadrian, and have, consequently, only scattered allusions by which to be guided. But in fairness to him I must not be influenced, on this point, by anything I find in his first and second editions, in both of which he appears at least to ascribe all the stations to Agricola in one passage, and all to Hadrian in another.[1] In the third edition, however, he mentions three of the stations which "are quite detached from both lines of fortification [the murus and the vallum], being situated to the south of them"; and adds that "these probably have been originally constructed by Agricola to defend the defiles near which they stand" (p. 61). The stations alluded to are Chesterholm (Vindolana), Carvoran (Magna), and Walton House (? Petriana). Of Halton Chesters (Hunnum) he elsewhere says, "There can be no doubt that the station was

[1] "He [Hadrian] did not attempt to regain the conquests which Agricola had made in Scotland, but prudently sought to make the line of forts [between the Tyne and the Solway], which that general had constructed in his second campaign, the limit of his empire." (*Roman Wall*, 1st ed., p. 11; 2nd ed., p. 9.) Compare this with the passage quoted above (p. 82) from p. 387 of the first edition, which is repeated on p. 364 of the second.

planted in its present position to guard the Watling Street" (p. 133); and, as he acknowledges that this road "was probably formed by Agricola" (p. 139), we are justified in regarding this station also as, in his opinion, one of that general's forts. Then of Chesters (Cilurnum) he declares, "There can be little doubt that Agricola first reared the station" (p. 145). Thus, five stations out of seventeen are allowed to have been *probably* built by Agricola. The first of these is Hunnum, 20 miles from Wallsend. The second is Cilurnum, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Hunnum. The third is Vindolana, over 9 miles from Cilurnum. The fourth is Magna, more than $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Vindolana. The last is Walton House, $10\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Magna, and $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Bowness. Thus we have five camps to defend a frontier 73 miles in length, with 20 miles at each end totally unprotected, and with two intervening gaps, one of 10 miles and the other of 9.

With these measurements in mind, let us turn to the pages of Tacitus. Speaking of Agricola's second campaign in Britain, he says:

"At the return of the summer (A.D. 79) he assembled his army. On their march he commended the regular and orderly and restrained the stragglers; he marked out the encampments, and explored in person the estuaries and forests. At the same time he perpetually harassed the enemy by sudden incursions; and after sufficiently alarming them, by an interval of forbearance he held to their view the allurements of peace. By this management many states which till that time had asserted their independence were now induced to lay aside their animosity, and to deliver hostages. *These districts were enclosed with castles and forts, disposed with so much attention and judgment, that no part of Britain, hitherto new to the Roman arms, escaped unmolested.* (Quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere, et præsidiis castellisque circumdatæ, tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniæ nova pars inlacessita transierit.)"

The question arises: Where were the forts and castles with which the subdued districts were enclosed? It is generally agreed that Agricola's second campaign was directed against the Brigantes, whose northern boundary was the isthmus between the Tyne and the Solway. Agricola, having conquered this tribe, *enclosed* their territory with castles and forts. Does this mean that he planted camps or stations at intervals throughout the whole of their frontiers? What would be the use of placing camps on the south boundary of their territory? The Cornavii and the Coritani had been previously subjected to Roman power. Then, what object

could Agricola have in fixing camps along the sea-shores of the Brigantes? Invasion by sea was not what he apprehended. His object, clearly, was to protect already conquered territory against the incursion of the inhabitants of districts yet unsubdued. This, I venture to think, is the conclusion at which any unbiassed reader of Tacitus would arrive. It is certainly the conclusion at which the author of *The Roman Wall* had arrived when he declared that Hadrian prudently sought to make the line of forts constructed by Agricola between the Tyne and the Solway the limit of his empire—an opinion which appears to have been abandoned in favour of an all-absorbing claim for Hadrian. At a later period, in a chapter contributed to Mr. John Hodgson Hinde's introductory volume of the *History of Northumberland*, Dr. Bruce says that the passage just quoted from Tacitus

"gives no authority for supposing that the strongholds erected by Agricola in his second campaign formed a *chain* across the isthmus of the north of England. It simply states that Agricola *dispersed* (!) his forts in such a way as best to overawe the people whom he had subdued during the course of the summer." (*Hist. Northumb.*, pt. 1, p. 28.)

Hereupon Dr. Bruce proceeds to speculate as to where Agricola's forts were planted :

"Two or three placed near the principal lines of march between the north and the south, would be as many as he would have time for in the immediate vicinity of the lower isthmus. Others would be planted to the south of it, probably on the great lines of road, and especially at those points (such as the passage of rivers) where the movements of a hostile force could be most easily impeded."

All this is quite consistent with the notion that Agricola *dispersed* his forts throughout a certain district, but is quite incompatible with the declaration of Tacitus that that great general enclosed that district with forts. The verb used by Tacitus is *circumdo*, and the liberty taken is very great when this word is made equivalent to the English verb *to disperse*. To the assertion, therefore, that the passage in Tacitus "*simply states* that Agricola *dispersed* his forts", we must unhesitatingly object. Tacitus says that Agricola *enclosed*, or *surrounded*, certain districts with castles and forts, and, as a prudent general, he would enclose them in this way where they needed to be enclosed, that is, along the frontier beyond which were the yet unconquered tribes. This was the northern frontier of the territory of the Brigantes—the frontier commanded by the stations between the Tyne and the Solway.

In a passage just quoted, the author of *The Roman Wall* supposes

that two or three forts between the Tyne and the Solway would be as many as Agricola in his second campaign would have time to plant; though this number, by acknowledgment of several "probabilities", he elsewhere increases to five. But of what use would five forts be to guard a frontier 70 to 80 miles in length? Some of these forts, it may be granted, guarded the great military roads of the Romans. But what were these roads to the native tribes of Britain? Did the Caledonians wait till the Romans had constructed military roads before they invaded the conquered districts? The roads were formed to enable the Romans to carry out their own plans of conquest, and to maintain what they had already gained. But had the northern tribes confined their movements to the military roads of their enemies, there could have been no necessity for the erection of either the vallum or the murus. If, then, Agricola fortified this frontier at all—and that he did so, the passage from Tacitus affords conclusive evidence—it must have been by an efficient line of camps, such a line as we cannot admit the five which Dr. Bruce thinks were probably planted by Agricola to have constituted.

I do not contend that absolutely every station along the line of the wall is the work of Agricola. Pons Ælii (Newcastle), for instance, is apparently ascribed to Hadrian by its very name—a name which implies a relationship between bridge and camp which must not be overlooked. And if we omit this station from the list, we find that the distance between Wallsend and Benwell accords much better with the average distance of stations along the wall. Taking the stations from Wallsend to Birdoswald (Amboglanna), which is as far westward as we can certainly identify the names in the *Notitia* list, and omitting Pons Ælii, Vindolana, and Magna—the first, because it appears to be an addition to the series, and the two latter because they lie south of the line of the wall—we get an average distance from station to station of 5 miles $3\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs. It is a singular fact that in the Ravenna list both Pons Ælii and Vindolana are omitted, though all other stations from Segedunum to Æsica occur in their proper order. Unfortunately, the Ravenna list beyond Æsica is confused and incomprehensible, but it is certain that it makes no mention of Magna. These omissions from this list are of very little, if any, value as evidence, but they are at all events remarkable, and worthy of note. The greatest distance between any two stations is that from Walton House to Stanwix, which is 7 miles $7\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs; and if, besides Pons Ælii, Vindolana, and Magna, we omit Drumburgh, as I think we ought,

the shortest distance is then between Cilurnum and Procolitia, which is only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. But taking their average distances, I think there is clear evidence of an intention on the part of their founder to fortify the north frontier of the territory of the Brigantes with stations planted, as nearly as the contour of the country would permit, at distances of about six Roman miles from each other.

In reply to all this it may be said that the contemporary date of the murus and many of the stations is proved by the parallelism of the murus itself, as it approaches one or both sides of a station, with that station's north and south walls. In other words, the fact that in a few cases the murus comes up to the east or west wall of a station, at a right angle to that wall, proves unity of design. The only stations about which this can be said are Condercum, Vindobala, Hunnum, Cilurnum, and Procolitia. Two of these, however (Hunnum and Cilurnum), Dr. Bruce regards as the work of Agricola, and therefore, so far as he is concerned, the argument with which I am now dealing is impotent. But it is sufficient, in reply, to say that the murus is only parallel with the north and south walls of a station when it is also parallel with the vallum; and this seems to afford ground for believing, with Mr. MacLauchlan, that one member of the vallum was contemporary with the stations, and was constructed to serve as a military way between them. But however this may be, the fact that when the murus is not parallel with the vallum it is never parallel with the north and south walls of a station, disposes of any argument for unity of design which may be based on such parallelism. At neither Wallsend nor Bowness—stations which the vallum never reached—does the murus come up to the station at a right angle to the wall to which it joins.

Both Mr. Hodgson and Dr. Bruce are willing to allow that some of the stations, which they believe were planned by Hadrian, were actually built before the murus, although, they contend, the interval was a short one. Hodgson, for instance, speaking of Amboglanna, says that the murus, "though it forms a straight line on its north side with the rectilinear part of the north wall of the station, is not tied into that wall, *but built of much larger courses of stones, and much more rudely than it;* and thus evidently proves that it was of later construction than the station itself" (*Hist. Northumb.*, ii, iii, p. 207). He also mentions that "the north-east corner of Æsica is also [like that of Amboglanna] rounded off, and apparently not tied, like the side walls of the castella [the mile-castles], at right

angles, into the murus; and thus, in both cases, the stations seem to have been built prior to the murus" (p. 307). This acknowledgment of the earlier date of the stations is, however, only intended to mean that Hadrian's builders constructed the stations before they began to erect the murus; for the same writer also declares, "Borcovicus and Æsica, I would say, are manifestly coeval with the murus" (p. 278). On this point Dr. Bruce is at one with Mr. Hodgson. Of Borcovicus he says: "No one can doubt that the station was rendered complete before the wall was annexed to it; and yet no one who examines the whole subject will fail to see that but for the wall the station of Borcovicus would never have existed" (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 181). I take the meaning of this sentence to be that the station was built with the intention of "annexing" the murus as soon afterwards as possible. Of Æsica, he says: "The station was probably quite independent of the wall. . . . At the same time it cannot for a moment be supposed that but for the wall this station would have had an existence" (p. 233). And of Amboglanna he declares, "The station has been built entirely independent of the great wall" (p. 256). How the station could be built "entirely independent" of the murus, it would be hard to understand, were not the writer's meaning elucidated in other passages. One thing, however, is quite clear. Both Mr. Hodgson and Dr. Bruce admit that two or three of the stations, which both believe to be parts of Hadrian's design, were built before the murus, and we are left to gather evidence as to the length of time which intervened.

In all cases which can be ascertained all the four corners of the stations are rounded. Now, at Procolitia,[1] Borcovicus, Æsica, and Amboglanna the murus comes up to the north-east and north-west angles of the station. At Borcovicus both north angles, and at Amboglanna one of them, are still seen to be rounded, and there is evidence that they were rounded at Æsica. This, however, is certainly an arrangement which would never have been adopted had

[1] Of Procolitia Mr. MacLauchlan says: "Though the general outline of the station is easily made out, the wall of it is not visible, hence the true bearing and position is somewhat uncertain; but the bearing of the north wall of the station is about one degree more towards the north than that of the great wall, and about three degrees more than that of the vallum." And in a footnote he adds: "This want of conformity in structure would lead to a supposition that the station was built before either the vallum or the wall; and it is not impossible that the two north angles were rounded like the two south ones, and destroyed in the construction of the wall, which probably formed nearly a straight line with the north front" (*Memoirs, etc.*, p. 34).

it been the intention of the builder that these corners should be continued into an adjoining wall. The way in which the murus abuts upon the north corners of the stations just mentioned[1] has forced from Mr. Hodgson and Dr. Bruce the acknowledgment that these stations at least are earlier in date than the murus; although, they contend, they are coeval in design. But anyone not already wedded to a theory would see that this rounding of the north corners of these stations contemplated their permanent exposure, and is thus evidence that the murus did not enter into the plan of their designer. In this respect we may compare the stations with the mile-castles. The latter, it is agreed by everyone, are part of the design of the murus, and are coeval with it. *In all cases which can be ascertained the south corners of the mile-castles are rounded, but their north corners, which are in contact with the murus, are rectangular.* The conclusion is irresistible. Had the north corners of Borcovicus, Æsica, and Amboglanna been intended by their builder or designer to have the murus annexed to them, they would have been rectangular also.

But that Agricola planned the principal stations from the Tyne to the Solway we have evidence from their analogy to those which he constructed in Scotland. We have seen that his camps on the north frontier of the territory of the Brigantes were the work of his second campaign, in A.D. 79. Turning again to the pages of Tacitus, we read :—

"The military expeditions of the third year [A.D. 80] discovered new nations to the Romans, and their ravages extended as far as the estuary of the Tay. The enemies were thereby struck with such terror that they did not venture to molest the army, though harassed by violent tempests; so that they had sufficient opportunity for the erection of fortresses. Persons of experience remarked that no general had ever shown greater skill in the choice of advantageous situations than Agricola, for not one of his fortified posts was either taken by storm or surrendered by capitulation. The garrisons made frequent sallies, for they were secured against a blockade by a year's provision in their stores. Thus the winter passed without alarm, and each garrison proved sufficient for its own defence; while the enemy, who were generally accustomed to repair the losses of the summer by the successes of the winter, now equally unfortunate in both seasons, were baffled and driven to despair.

"The fourth summer [A.D. 81] was spent in securing the country which had been overrun; and if the valour of the army and the glory of the Roman name had permitted it, our conquests would have found a limit

[1] See Ordnance Maps, 25 in. scale, *Northumberland*, lxxxiii, 12, and *Cumberland*, xii, 12.

within Britain itself. For the tides of the opposite seas, flowing very far up the estuaries of Clota and Bodotria, almost intersect the country, leaving only a narrow neck of land, which was then defended by a chain of forts. Thus all the territory on this side was held in subjection, and the remaining enemies were moved, as it were, into another island."

The estuaries of Clota and Bodotria are the Firths of Clyde and Forth. The "chain of forts" constructed by Agricola between these estuaries is universally allowed to be the series of camps, afterwards connected to each other by an earth-wall, under the direction of Antoninus Pius and his legate, Lollius Urbicus. This wall is analogous to the English vallum, but in no sense to the murus. But both Mr. Hodgson and Dr. Bruce admit that the stations and wall of Antonine's barrier are not parts of one design, and are not coeval in date. Yet the Scottish wall, as anyone consulting the maps in Stuart's *Caledonia Romana* may see, pursues a far more direct course than the English wall. This, however, is not all. A careful examination of the line pursued by the Antonine wall shows fewer deflections for the purpose of coming up to its stations than will be noticed in the course of the English wall. This is all the more remarkable when we remember that the Scottish camps are, on an average, a little under two miles from each other. But an examination of the line of the English wall will, I think, dispose us to agree with Horsley, who, ascribing the stations to Agricola, the vallum to Hadrian, and the murus to Severus, says: "We find the course of the wall directed, as much as it well could be, from station to station, and making some turns with no other view but to come up to and fetch in a station." (*Britannia Romana*, p. 98.)

Vallum and Murus: Evidence of the Structures.

We now come to discuss the relative dates of the vallum and the murus. Before examining the evidence of inscriptions and ancient historians on this point we must consider that which is afforded by the structures themselves. On this subject Dr. Bruce says:

"A careful examination of the country over which the wall runs almost necessarily leads to the conclusion that whilst the wall [*i.e.*, the murus] undertook the harder duty of warding off the openly hostile tribes of Caledonia, the vallum was intended as a protection against sudden surprise from the south." (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 59.)

He also says:

"One circumstance, admitted by all writers on the wall (?), argues very strongly in favour of the theory that both murus and vallum are but parts of one great engineering scheme: it is that the wall is almost uniformly taken over ground which gives the greatest advantage in repelling an attack from the north, and the vallum occupies positions whence a southern foe could best be resisted." (P. 380.)

Dr. Bruce has other arguments, drawn from the works themselves, in support of his theory, and these will be presently noticed. But, in reply to the passages just quoted, it may be said, and said truly, that throughout a very great part of its course the vallum is equally well adapted, so far as its mere position is concerned, to resist attack either from the north or from the south. Then, also, there are many places in which the vallum is commanded by higher grounds on the south. Of these it will be sufficient to give two or three instances. A little more than half a mile west of the bend in the wall at Heddon-on-the-Wall, the vallum is overlooked by an eminence on the south, about 100 feet higher than itself, and at a distance of less than two furlongs (*Northumb.*, lxxxvii).[1] Opposite the mile-castle at Cawfields Crags, near Æsica, at a distance of about five furlongs south of the vallum, the land is more than 170 feet higher than the vallum itself (*Northumb.*, lxxxiii, xcii). Near the station of Æsica, the land south of the vallum rises rapidly, attaining, at a point about two furlongs west, an elevation of nearly 130 feet above it, and this at a distance of not more than a third of a mile (*Northumb.*, lxxxii, xci). From High Shield, a mile and a half west of Borcovicus, to "Twice Brewed", a distance of three-quarters of a mile, the vallum commands the north, but not the south, and this is perhaps a more decisive instance than those in which it is commanded by much greater heights, for here the land slopes gently down to the south rampart, although the vallum itself, by being carried a little further to the south, would have occupied the highest ground (*Northumb.*, lxxxiii). If, at this point, the vallum were defended from the north, the defenders would have their enemies above them. About a quarter of a mile east of "Twice Brewed", where all the members of the vallum, except the middle rampart, are well defined, the summit of the south rampart, in consequence of the contour of the ground, is much higher than that of the north one (*ibid.*). And this is also the case three-quarters of a mile further west, where

[1] This and similar references are to the six-inch scale Ordnance Maps.

the vallum leaves the road just past the inn at Low Winshield, with this additional fact, that the field on the south side of the south rampart gently rises from it (*ibid.*). In all these cases the vallum commands the north, and could be defended with ease and advantage from its south side, but could not be defended at all from the north. And it must be borne in mind that these are all instances in which, had the object of the constructors of the vallum been to make it defensible from the north, they might have done so by deflecting it one or two furlongs from its present course, and over ground which it would have traversed with equal ease.

But if the murus and the vallum were parts of one design, it must surely have been necessary that the troops garrisoning the former should be able to see if their services were needed along the line of the latter. Dr. Bruce recognises this, and assures us that "they [murus and vallum] are never so far removed that one may not be seen from the other" (*Hist. Northumb.*, i, p. 45). Nevertheless, there is one place, about a mile and a half west of Borcovicus, where, for a considerable distance, in consequence of an intervening ridge of basaltic rock, the one barrier *cannot* be seen from the other. This is opposite the mile-castle at Hot Bank (*Northumb.*, lxxxiii).

And this leads me to say that, throughout their whole course, the murus and the vallum wander furthest from each other where, if they were parts of one design, it would be necessary that they should keep nearest together, and are actually nearest where, with the greatest safety, they might have been furthest apart. West of Borcovicus, for instance, where they are as far apart as at any point throughout their course, the greater part of the intervening space is rough, rocky moorland of steep gradients, over which it is not possible to walk either rapidly or easily. Most of the remaining part is swampy morass (*Northumb.*, lxxxiii). Surely no engineer, forming two lines of fortification intended to be generally parallel to each other, would carry them at a distance of nearly half a mile apart over a district of this character, and yet, when the ground is level and easily traversed, bring them within a distance of 60 yards from each other, and sometimes even less. If the Hadrianic theory were sound, it should show us that the builder of the two walls provided for easy access from one barrier to the other, and for this purpose brought them nearest where the ground was most difficult of passage, and carried them further away where it was most easily crossed. But, in fact, the very opposite of this is the case ; and this alone, without any additional evidence, is sufficient to disprove the theory of unity of design.

But before we leave the discussion of this part of the question, it may be desirable to examine another statement by Dr. Bruce, bearing on the same points. After repeating the assertion that "whilst the ground along which the wall runs is generally the strongest which could be chosen for a protection against the north, that over which the vallum goes is better adapted for repelling invasion from the south", he proceeds to say:

"In many instances the vallum takes the southern slope of a hill when it might as easily have embraced its northern margin. Throughout the entire distance extending from Sewingshields to Carvoran [*Northumb.*, lxxxiv, lxxxiii, lxxxii, xci], the vallum runs along the southern slope of the basaltic hills on the northern escarpment on which the murus is situated, and is commanded throughout by the rising ground to the north." (*Hist. Northumb.*, i, p. 46.)

If I wished to point to one part of the mural district as affording stronger evidence than any other against this theory of unity of design, it is the portion between Sewingshields and Carvoran. Here, *in many instances, the vallum takes the* NORTHERN *slope of a hill when it might as easily have embraced* its SOUTHERN margin. And instead of running "throughout the entire district" on the *southern* slope of the basaltic hills, it very frequently, as we have previously seen, runs along the *northern* slope of the opposite hills, and occasionally along the very lowest part of the valley. Dr. Bruce admits that the murus is a better defence against the northern foe, than is the vallum against a southern one, and explains or excuses this by saying:

"As the Caledonian foe was more to be dreaded than the subject Brigantes, the wall must of necessity be made to seize every advantageous point, no matter how frequently it changes its direction; while the vallum, as having a less arduous duty to fulfil, may be allowed to proceed for a considerable distance in the same straight line, irrespective of occasional disadvantages, provided its course on the whole be suited to its purpose." (*Hist. Northumb.*, i, p. 45.)

The "occasional disadvantages" to which Dr. Bruce refers are the parts of the vallum where it is overlooked by higher grounds on the south. But, surely, anyone will admit that had the vallum been designed, for the purpose of resisting a southern enemy, by the same great engineer who built the murus, instead of being carried, as it is frequently between Sewingshields and Carvoran, along the very foot of the valley, or on the northern slope of the opposite hills, it would have been drawn with unvarying uniformity along the southern declivity of the range on which the murus itself

is built, and as near as possible throughout to that more important and efficient structure.

There are, however, several other arguments on which the Hadrianic theory depends for evidence of "unity of design" in the murus and vallum, the principal of which it is necessary to examine. One of these is founded on the relation of the vallum to the stations. Dr. Bruce states this argument in the following words :

"In a very few instances the stations are to the south both of wall and vallum, but in the majority of cases the vallum [supposing it to have been built before the murus] leaves the stations to a large extent or altogether unprotected. This is a state of things which no engineer of ancient or modern times would tolerate. View the whole as one work, and the difficulty vanishes. The murus comes up to the north rampart of the stations, or the northern pier of their lateral gateways ; the vallum falls in with the southern rampart, or the southern pier of the gateways. Thus the vallum and the wall bind the whole fortification together, and enable it satisfactorily to resist aggression from whatever quarter it may come." (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 381.)

This argument is based on a generalization which requires correction. Most persons, reading the paragraph just quoted, would come to the conclusion that, except the "very few instances" in which "the stations are to the south both of wall and vallum", the murus "comes up to the north rampart of the stations or the northern pier of their lateral gateways", whilst "the vallum falls in with the southern rampart or southern pier of the gateways." Seventeen stations are usually regarded as belonging to the mural barrier. Three of these are south of both murus and vallum. Of the remaining fourteen, two afford no evidence as to how they were approached by the murus. Twelve stations are left, and of these the murus comes up to the north wall of seven and to the lateral gateways of five. But Dr. Bruce's statement is more incomplete in reference to the relation between the vallum and the stations. Again omitting the three stations which lie south of both barriers, we must remember that the vallum never reached the two stations at the extremities of the wall. This reduces the number to twelve, and of these we have no evidence in four cases as to how they were approached by the vallum, if, indeed, some of them were approached by it at all. In two instances of the remaining eight the vallum does not approach the station, and of the small residue of six the vallum comes up to the south rampart of five, and to the lateral gateways of *one*. Certainly six stations out of seventeen is a small proportion from which to draw a generalization. But, as it seems to me,

all this difference in the way in which the stations are approached or not approached by the murus and vallum, is evidence against the theory of unity and design. Roman works, in England and elsewhere, usually show marked evidence of what I might call rigid uniformity of plan; and had the stations, vallum, and murus been constructed at one time, and originally formed parts of one design, there can scarcely be a doubt that many of the dissimilarities which are so observable in the relation between the three great lines of fortification would not have existed.

The argument for unity of design is sometimes singularly inconsistent. When, in the paragraph just quoted, the writer contends for this unity from the way which the stations are approached by the murus and the vallum, he apparently forgets that he has ascribed two of the stations—Hunnum and Cilurnum—at which the murus comes up to the lateral gateways and the vallum to the south rampart, to Agricola. Elsewhere he says: "The manner in which the two walls combine in giving strength to a station is very well shown in Warburton's plan of the works in the vicinity of Cilurnum"; which plan he re-engraves, and quotes with especial approval Warburton's declaration that station, murus, and vallum "must have been one entire united defence or fortification" (*Roman Wall*, 1st ed., p. 390; 2nd ed., p. 366). But the station itself, Dr. Bruce grants, was built by Agricola. Granting, for a moment, that Hadrian built both vallum and murus, it is evident that he or his engineers found no difficulty in adapting their works to the existing station, so as to form altogether "one entire united defence or fortification". But is there any greater difficulty in believing that Severus adapted his murus, at Cilurnum and other similar places, to an already existing station and vallum, than in assuming that Hadrian adapted both murus and vallum to an existing station? Certainly not. Thus the argument for unity of design, based upon the manner in which some of the stations are approached by the murus and the vallum, is broken down by the acknowledgment that two of the stations at which this evidence of unity of design is especially evident were built before either of the walls was thought of.

But, it is fair to say, the principal point in the argument we are considering yet remains to be answered. It is contended that, if the vallum was built before the murus, the stations derived no advantage from its construction, but were left "to a large extent, or altogether, unprotected". The purpose for which the vallum was formed yet remains to be discussed, and, at present, it may be suffi-

cient to inquire, What advantage would the stations have derived from the vallum had its course been on their north side? Three of the stations have the vallum on the north, and reasons might easily be given for this arrangement in these instances; but what line must the vallum have taken to leave the stations of Borcovicus and Æsica south of itself? Along the Antonine wall almost all the stations are on the south side. But there, the ramparts of the camps, like the wall itself, are of earth. But the ramparts of the English stations, along the line of the wall, are of masonry, and therefore would have been in no way strengthened by being enclosed by the vallum. This fact alone affords a sufficient reason for the vallum being generally constructed south of the stations.

But here it is necessary to notice a curious fact to which Dr. Bruce draws our attention. Speaking of the vallum, he says:

> "No apparent paths of egress have been made through these southern lines of fortification. The only mode of communication with the country to the south, originally contemplated, seems to have been by the gateways of the stations." (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 58.)

To the gateways of the stations we must, of course, add the three great Roman roads which crossed the wall. As we have already seen, there is only evidence in five cases that the vallum coincided with the south rampart of the station. How the vallum approached Pons Ælii and Drumburgh, *its* two terminal stations, we do not know; but including the two intermediate stations, as to its relations to which we have no evidence, we get a total of ten means of ingress and egress through the vallum, in the whole 67 miles of its course. With the Roman troops on its north side it must have been a singularly inefficient defence against the revolting Brigantes. Except by five, six, or seven gates, and by three roads in 67 miles, the Romans had no means of getting at their enemies, unless they scrambled over three dykes and through a ditch. How different were the facilities for getting at the Caledonians! Every mile-castle and station had a northern gateway. But the vallum would be equally as advantageous to the revolting Brigantes as to the Romans, if not more so. When we come to consider the structure of the vallum we shall see that, quite irrespective of the stations, it is better calculated to resist a northern foe than a southern one. The theory that it was formed as a defence against rebellious Brigantes may be dismissed with the remark that, when that tribe had been subjected to the Roman arms, provision was made against its subsequent revolt by planting stations and camps throughout its

whole territory. Let anyone look at the map of Roman Britain and see how the territory of the Brigantes, from the Humber and the Mersey to the Tyne and the Solway, is dotted with cities and innumerable camps, and intersected by military roads, and then say whether, had the Brigantes rebelled, the power to quell them must not have been the military forces stationed in the cities and camps which had been planted in their own territory. And had this power failed—had the native tribes of Yorkshire and Lancashire once mastered the Roman troops that dwelt amongst them, and then rushed forward to this earthern rampart, not all the cohorts and alæ stationed along the wall could have resisted them. The vallum itself would have aided them. Planting themselves on the smallest rampart, which fringes the south side of the ditch, they would have cut off the Roman soldiers as they attempted to scramble through it, whilst from many a favouring height, and even from the south rampart of the vallum, they would hurl their spears and let fly their arrows upon their foes.[1]

If, however, the vallum was formed for defence against a southern foe, it may be asked, What was it that was to be defended? Whilst the great mission of the Roman troops that manned the wall was to defend the territory of the Brigantes, and

[1] In the thirteenth volume of *Archæologia Æliana*, Chancellor Ferguson, of Carlisle, puts forward a new theory of the purpose of the vallum, which is chiefly valuable as a tacit confession of the weakness of the previous theories of those who, like himself, Mr. Hodgson, and Dr. Bruce, wish to make wall and vallum "the work of one mind, carried out simultaneously". Mr. Ferguson holds that the vallum was constructed, not as a defence against revolting Brigantes, but against the attacks of *guerillas*, *banditti*, and *dacoits*, who, he believes, infested vast and almost impenetrable forests of underwood, which he describes by the scarcely classical term *scrub*. It is, however, a great tax upon our credulity to expect us to believe that, during the Roman occupation of Britain, the immediate rear of the Roman wall, from one side of the island to the other, was an unbroken region of "scrub". But if this even were the case, it appears to me, and will, I daresay, appear to most people, that to clear an open space of ground, of moderate breadth, would have been a sufficient defence. Mr. Ferguson pictures "some veteran centurion *hirsutus et hircosus*", guarding the palisaded vallum, who, "since there were no gates in the palisades" for the *guerillas*, the *banditti*, and *the dacoits* to come through, "could be trusted to see they did not come over." The picture is almost grotesque. One sees the palisaded rampart and the "veteran centurion" behind it, with the vast interminable "scrub" on the other side, and the *guerillas*, the *banditti*, and the *dacoits* lurking hither and thither amongst it, and ready at any moment to jump over into the clover of "the mural barrier", should they fail to scent the *hircosus* centurion; and then, one wonders what the two unpalisaded ramparts and the ditch were for, and whether they were on the side of the "veteran centurion", or on that of the *guerillas*, the *banditti*, and the *dacoits*.

that of even more southern tribes, against the invasions of the Caledonians, were they, on occasion, to reverse their calling, and defend the Caledonians against the Brigantes? Or will it be said that their vocation was to defend themselves and the narrow strip of land included between the two walls?

But we have not exhausted the arguments by which it is attempted to be shown that the works themselves offer evidence of unity of design. One of these arguments Dr. Bruce states in the following words:

"If the murus does not maintain the same accurate parallelism with the vallum, which the several parts of the vallum do with one another, these two great works never cut in upon one another. The murus never crosses the vallum. If the wall had been constructed nearly a century after the vallum, and in consequence of the inefficiency of that rampart, would it not have pursued an independent course across the country, sometimes crossing the vallum in one direction, sometimes in another, occasionally diverging from it to a considerable distance?" (*Hist. Northumb.*, i, p. 45.)

That the murus occasionally diverges from the wall "to a considerable distance", no one who has seen its course from Sewingshields to Carvoran will question; and the murus has done this so unscrupulously that, had still greater divergence offered any advantage, it is equally certain it would have left the vallum still further distant. But there can be no weight in the assumption that, had the murus and the vallum been independent works, they must necessarily have crossed and re-crossed. The existing arrangement presents no difficulty to those who believe that vallum and murus are works of different periods. The military engineer who planned the murus doubtless saw the inefficiency of the vallum, from its failing to seize the heights which were most advantageous for its purpose—heights in many cases practicable for a stone-wall, but not for an earthen rampart—and gave his orders that the new work should throughout be built to the north of the existing defence.

Hodgson puts forth an argument for unity of design in the murus and vallum which must not be passed over, especially as it is quoted approvingly by the author of *The Roman Wall* (1st ed., p. 389; 2nd ed., p. 365). The historian of Northumberland says:

"It [the vallum] and the murus *always* contract the width of the interval between them as they approach a river, apparently for no other purpose than a close protection of the military way and the defence of one bridge; for if they had passed the brooks and rivers on their line at any consider-

able distance from each other, two bridges would have been necessary, and two sets of guards to defend them; and here it is not unimportant to remark that the murus always takes that brow of the ridge it traverses which is precipitous to the north, and never deserts its straightest or most defensible course to find a convenient situation for a bridge, while the vallum almost invariably bends inwards as it approaches a bridge, and diverges outwards as it leaves it." (*Hist. Northumb.*, ii, iii, p. 309.)

To this we may take MacLauchlan's reply. He says:

"The observation, that 'the vallum and murus always contract the width of the interval between them as they approach a river, apparently for no other purpose than a close protection of the military way and the defence of one bridge', in support of the idea that 'the works themselves furnish us with the best proof that the whole is one design, and the production of one period', will not hold good, for, as the works approach the River Tyne they slightly expand on each side [*Northumb.*, lxxxv]. In approaching the Tipalt they are nearly parallel on the east and present a slight contraction on the west, but leaving 100 yards between them [*Northumb.*, xci]; at the Poltross Burn they contract on the east and expand on the west [*ibid.*]; at the Irthing the vallum is obliterated, but, when last seen together, near Mumpshall on the east, expanding towards the stream; at the Cambeck it is found expanding on each side, if the line suggested for the vallum be admitted; and lastly, at the Eden they expand on the east and contract on the west, if it be granted that the vallum joined the castle at Carlisle [*Cumb.*, xxiii]." (*Memoir, etc.*, p. 90.)

"The evidence afforded by the works themselves", even in those points which are most relied upon as proof of "unity of design", is thus seen, when carefully examined, to break down completely; and it now only remains, in this part of our inquiry, to ascertain what other evidence pointing to difference of date of the vallum and the murus these works afford.

Mr. MacLauchlan mentions

"three places where the close approach of the wall to the vallum would seem to militate against their being of contemporaneous construction. The first is at Highseat, about three-quarters of a mile west of Rutchester [*Northumb.*, lxxxvii]; the second is about a mile west of Carraw [*Northumb.*, lxxxiv]; and the third about a mile east of Irthing [see MacLauchlan's map]. In these cases the wall approaches unusually near to the vallum—the mean distance between them being about sixty yards—where no natural obstacles intervened. This admits of the best explanation, perhaps, by supposing that the vallum occupied the ground previously." (*Memoir, etc.*, p. 90.)

But besides the instances alluded to by Mr. MacLauchlan, there are at least two others. The first of these is about a mile west of

the bend in the wall at Harlow Hill (*Northumb.*, lxxxvi), and the second is at Chapel Field, nearly two miles west of Walton House (*Cumb.*, xvii). In the first case the vallum continues in an almost perfectly straight line for nearly five miles, whilst the murus, after bending to the south at Harlow Hill, runs forward in a straight line until, near the middle of the distance just named, it is again compelled to change its direction by the presence of the vallum. The second case occurs at a point at which both murus and vallum make considerable angles, but where the two works approach much nearer each other than it is easy to believe they would have done had they been contemporary structures.

I must, however, again quote Mr. MacLauchlan. He says :

"There are also instances along the line where the wall appears to have been turned in its course for no other reason than to avoid running in upon the vallum, on the supposition that the latter had been made first; as may be seen about 400 yards east of Heddon-on-the-Wall, where the north rampart of the vallum is continued on to the height before the line is changed, similarly to the lines of the Watling Street; but the wall, approaching the same height, continues its course till obliged to change it, or to have run in upon the vallum in the hollow below [*Northumb.*, lxxxvii]. Again, at Newtown, about a mile west of Petriana, the wall approaches unusually near to the vallum, where the latter runs straight for a great distance, leading to an idea of independent construction" [*Cumb.*, xvii]. (*Memoir*, p. 90.)

A similar instance occurs about two miles north-east of Stanwix (*Cumb.*, xvi, xvii).

To all this Dr. Bruce has a very brief reply. Acknowledging that "observations coming from so high and unbiassed an authority" as Mr. MacLaughlan "will command universal respect", he proceeds to declare that "surely a few cases such as those named are not sufficient to overthrow the argument deducible from the design and execution of the works as a whole" (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 382). We have already examined the "argument deducible from the design and execution of the works as a whole", and have seen that it is no set-off against the import of "a few cases such as those named". The argument for unity of design drawn "from the works as a whole" having in fact broken down, the "few cases named" remain unanswered evidence that the vallum and the murus are works of different periods.

I must now draw attention to a part of the mural barrier which affords even more decisive evidence against the theory of unity of design than any yet adduced. The Ordnance Map (*Cumberland*,

sheet xxiii) represents the murus and the vallum as running side by side in one place, for a distance of 400 yards, with no intervening space whatever between them. This is at what is known as Davidson's Banks, rather more than a mile west of the Castle of Carlisle. There is a reason for such close contact here which does not apply anywhere else throughout the whole line of the wall. The vallum, before the erection of the murus, ran along the south bank of the Eden, leaving a very limited space between itself and the river. When the murus came to be built north of the vallum, this could only be accomplished by leaving actually no available space between the two works. Mr. MacLauchlan does not show the site of the vallum at this point, but the site he ascribes to the murus is identical with that shown on the Ordnance Map. But he also shows the murus and the vallum coming into actual contact at the west end of Davidson's Banks. As the murus and the vallum come up to this place from the west, both MacLauchlan's map and that of the Ordnance Survey represent them as meeting at a very acute angle. Whether they continued in contact for 400 yards, or only for a single yard, does not materially affect the argument. I do not feel that I can call in question the twofold evidence of MacLauchlan's and the Ordnance maps, that the murus and the vallum, once at least in their course, came close together ; and, if this one fact only be admitted, the theory that the one work was intended as a defence against a northern foe and the other against a southern rebellion, with all other theories of unity of design and contemporary date, falls to the ground. I grant that it may not be possible to gather on the spot, at the present time, any very satisfactory evidence of this contact of the murus and vallum near Carlisle. But it must be remembered that thirty-five years have elapsed since the completion of MacLauchlan's survey, and twenty-two years since the Ordnance survey of that district was made. Evidences which might be unmistakable twenty-two to thirty-five years ago, may be totally obliterated now. I know that, within a fourth of the shortest of these periods, considerable evidences of the vallum and of the ditch of the murus have been destroyed on the west side of Newcastle. It is, however, beyond all question that, at the part of the bank of the Eden under discussion, the vallum ran over ground which it never would have done had it been designed or constructed at the same time as the murus.

The very section of the vallum, however, quite apart from any question whether its north rampart was originally a military way, suggests that it was intended to resist a northern rather than a

southern foe. It consists, as I have already said, of three ramparts and a ditch. But two of these ramparts are on the south side of the ditch, and there is only one on the north. *The north rampart*, too, is about 30 feet distant from the edge of the ditch. A ditch or fosse is always planted on the outer or enemy's side of the fortification it is intended to strengthen, and is drawn as close to that fortification as possible. Leaving the north rampart out of consideration for the present, and taking the section of the two south ramparts and the ditch, we see that they form together an excellent defence against the north. But if we assume that all the ramparts and the intervening ditch are parts of one barrier, to be defended from its northern side, we shall, I think, be driven to confess that the position of the rebellious Brigantes behind the south rampart, or behind the one nearest the ditch, was an exceedingly advantageous position. In addition to the very frequent advantage of rising ground on their side, they had two ramparts behind which to range their forces, whilst the Romans had only one, and this more defensible position had been provided for them by the Romans themselves.

The difficulty which the section of the vallum offers to the Hadrianic theory of the object of that structure has been felt by the advocates of this theory. In an important passage in the first and second editions of *The Roman Wall*, which has been omitted in the third, the writer says:

"Whatever we may conceive to have been the design of the vallum, the peculiarity of its form will excite the attention of the enquirer, *though probably without his arriving at any satisfactory explanation.* Supposing, according to the common theory, that the vallum was an independent fortification, erected long before the wall, to resist a northern foe, why was not the ditch, as in the case of the stone-wall, drawn along the northern edge of the northern agger? I cannot supply an answer. *A similar difficulty, however* [say, rather, a twofold greater one], *meets us on the supposition that it was meant to guard against attack from the other side.* Again, what part did the smaller rampart, on the south edge of the fosse, perform? Possibly it may have been intended as a foot-hold for the soldiers when fighting on this platform against the revolted Britons south of the barrier."[1] (1st ed., p. 54-5; 2nd ed., p. 43.)

[1] A passage in Spartianus, to be quoted and discussed in a later part of this article, mentions a palisade of great stakes as an essential feature in Hadrian's system of border fortification. Where would such a line of stakes be placed in the works of the vallum, but on the low rampart beside the fosse? It was doubtless to receive such a palisade that this rampart was formed, whilst the inner, or southern, rampart would be occupied, in times of attempted invasion, by the forces which defended the barrier.

By "this platform" I understand the space between the two south ramparts to be meant. The Roman soldiers would here have a foot-hold two feet high and six feet broad; but the ditch, and the north rampart behind it, would be useless, except to cut off their retreat should the Brigantes prevail. And what access had the Romans to "this platform" when attacked by the Brigantes?

It seems desirable, before finally dismissing the subject of the vallum, to consider briefly Mr. MacLauchlan's contention that its north rampart was originally a military road. He says:

"There are two points where the probability is stronger than usual that the north rampart was made originally for a way. The first is where it turns aside to avoid Down Hill, near Hunnum [*Northumb.*, lxxxvi]; and the second, opposite Chesterholm [*Northumb.*, lxxxiii]. In both these cases, it is conjectured that the turn was made, not only to avoid natural obstacles, but to connect a branch-road—not a great military way, like the north rampart, but merely an ordinary line of communication, of some such inferior construction, it is supposed, as the Roman way, anciently called Stanegate. . . . Again, in the case of Carvoran, if the [north rampart of the] vallum be considered as a road, the projection may be explained as formed to avoid a bog; but, if as a defence, it would look more like a bastion thrown out to protect it [*Northumb.*, xci]." (*Memoir, etc.*, p 91.)

Dr. Bruce, however, considers "the view that the north agger of the vallum was Agricola's military way" exceedingly improbable. He says:

"It is but ill-adapted to such a purpose. In form and composition it does not differ from the other mounds of the vallum, and in no part of its course has it been paved (!). Besides, the other lines of the vallum run perfectly parallel with the north agger, from the one side of the island to the other. Is it likely that Hadrian, when throwing up ramparts to act as a military bulwark, would follow exactly the line which Agricola, forty years before, had marked out for the purposes of transit?" (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 375.)

Why should he not? By so doing, he would gain all the advantage of having his own ramparts strengthened by one already existing. The assertion that in no part of its course has the north rampart been paved, is incapable of proof. Had it been said that the rampart in question is not now paved in any part of its course, safer ground would have been taken. But even then we might reply that had this rampart been originally paved, the disappearance of its pavement would be amply accounted for by the subsequent construction of the murus and of the military way, much at least of which belongs so clearly, both in date and purpose, to that

barrier. But I doubt whether the rampart in question has been examined with sufficient care, throughout its course, to determine whether it does not now bear traces of having been paved. A number of trenches dug through its best preserved portions might reveal unexpected evidence.

That the north rampart of the vallum in many places has the appearance of a military road no one who has traversed it can doubt; and if the reader who has done this will turn to plates 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, and 16 of Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* (vol. ii) he will find that Roman roads in other parts of Britain have borne a very marked resemblance to this rampart of our vallum.

That the vallum was regarded as a completed work before the construction of the murus was thought of is rendered probable by a comparison between it and the Roman wall of Germany—the Pfahl-graben—the best account of which, in English at least, is a paper contributed by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin to the ninth volume of the *Archæologia Æliana.* The writer of that paper says:

"Hadrian is spoken of as the great developer of this scheme of defence at various times and in various places, and, upon the whole, the German antiquaries are probably warranted in attributing to that emperor more than to any other single name the construction of the *Limes Transdanubianus et Transrhenanus.* I say 'more than to any other single name' because it seems to me most probable that neither the German wall nor the British was entirely the work of one man. The German camps, some of them at any rate, had probably been in existence for a hundred years or more." (*Arch. Æl.*, ix, p. 157.)

—Just, I would add, as the Scottish camps had been in existence sixty years when the wall of Antonine was built, and just as the English camps had existed forty years when Hadrian constructed his vallum.

We have no space in which to discuss the features of the German wall, but the verdict passed upon it by Dr. Hodgkin, who has seen many parts of it, and has made himself conversant with almost everything about it in the archæological literature of Germany, is important to our purpose. He tells us that—

"It is clear that this *limes* is far more nearly related to our *vallum* and to Graham's Dyke in Scotland (the wall of Antoninus) than to the Northumbrian *murus.* In a word, it corresponds to the *vallum*, not to the *murus*, in our Northumbrian system of fortifications" (pp. 151, 80).

I cannot, perhaps, better close this part of my argument than by quoting the words of Horsley:

"I have already hinted", he says, "what I take to have been the case,

namely, that what is now called Hadrian's north agger was the most ancient military way leading from station to station; and that Hadrian's work, which was after this, was guided and limited by it, as it keeps a constant parallelism to it. The north agger, considered as such a military way, is, as far as I can judge, conducted according to the Roman art and rules in every part of it. In a word, the north agger, or old military way, keeps just such a course, and runs through such grounds, as one would expect such a Roman way should do.

"I see no circumstances in the two works of Severus's wall and Hadrian's vallum that argue them to be done at the same time, or to have any necessary relation one to the other. The constant parallelism of the north agger, the ditch, and the two southern aggers of Hadrian's work, is a sure argument of their mutual relation. But this parallelism does not hold in the wall of Severus. Where they are most distant there are no visible branches of any military way leading from the one to the other, whereby the communication between them might be more easily preserved. In some places there is a morass between the two walls, which must make a retreat from one wall to the other inconvenient, and is improper for a body of men to stand on.

"If Hadrian's work is supposed to have been designed for a defence against an attack from the south, difficulties of the same kind will arise, perhaps not easy to be removed. For sometimes the advantageous ground is left on the south, where it might easily have been otherwise ordered. In one place the vallum runs between higher grounds on each side. Besides, if it was designed against an enemy from the south, the ditch is on the wrong side, being to the north of the two ramparts. I don't see that there was any occasion to draw such a line of defence in order to prevent their making an attack upon the stations, for they are stronger on all sides than this vallum." (*Britannia Romana*, pp. 125-6.)

J. R. Boyle.

(To be continued.)

THE FINN-MEN OF BRITAIN.

II.

WHEN the twelfth-century Norseman, Sigurd Slembe, with his twenty followers, spent a whole winter with the Lapps or Finns, as stated in the *Heimskringla* (Saga XIV), it is evident that the two sets of men were in intimate association. Their life at that time is thus described in Sigurd's song:

"In the Lapland tent
Brave days we spent,
Under the grey birch tree;
In bed or on bank
We knew no rank,
And a merry crew were we.

"Good ale went round
As we sat on the ground,
Under the grey birch tree;
And up with the smoke
Flew laugh and joke,
And a merry crew were we."

It was at that time, also, that the Lapps made for Sigurd those "skin-sewed Fin-boats", in which he and his party voyaged southward in spring. In these accounts there is no mention made of the Lapp or Finn women, but their presence there must certainly be taken for granted. And there is no reason for supposing that they were less friendly to their guests than the Finn men were. There are evidences, indeed, that the Ugrians and the non-Ugrians of Scandinavia, of either sex, were on a friendly footing two centuries before Sigurd Slembe's day. When Eric, the son of Harald Haarfager, was in Lapland on one occasion, he there found his future wife, Gunhild, living in a hut with "two of the most knowing Laplanders in all Finmark". She had come there, she said, "to learn Lapland-art," in which these two Lapps were deeply versed. The way in which she entrapped her hosts, and went off with Eric, is described in the Saga (Harald Haarfager's, chap. xxxiv), and it argues something for Eric's magnanimity or in-

difference that he chose this lady to be his bride. However, the point is that in Gunhild we have a presumably non-Ugrian woman, living in the most friendly way with a couple of Lapp "magicians".

Again, we find Harald Haarfager himself actually marrying a Finn woman. We are told (chap. xxv. of his *Saga*) how, one winter, when Harald was moving about Upland "in guest-quarters", he was induced by "the Fin Svase", who announced himself to the king's followers as "the Fin[1] whose hut the King had promised to visit", to not only fulfil the said promise, but then and there to marry Snaefrid, the daughter of the Finn. Whether he took this step by reason of the beauty of the Finn girl, or of the strength of the mead which she poured out to him, or of the "magic" which she and her father exercised upon him, is a matter of little moment. The fact remains that she became his queen, and in course of time bore to him four sons: Sigurd Hrise, Halfdan Haleg, Gudrod Liome, and Rognvald Rettilbeine: who, consequently, were half-bred Finns—that is, assuming that Harald himself was of pure non-Ugrian blood.

These four sons of Harald's Finn wife are subsequently to be met with in this Saga; which tells how "they grew up to be very clever men, very expert in all exercises". When Harald was fifty years of age, he gave to them, as to his other sons, "the kingly title and dignity", assigning to them, as their portion of his kingdom, the territories of "Ringerike, Hadeland, Thoten, and the lands thereto belonging". But one of them, Halfdan, did not live to attain this dignity. Several years before, he, like Harald's many other sons, had resented his exclusion from place and dignity, and the advancement of mere "earls" instead; "for they [Harald's sons] thought earls were of inferior birth to them." Consequently, Halfdan and his brother Gudrod "set off one spring with a great force, and came suddenly upon Earl Rognvald, Earl of Möre, and surrounded the house in which he was, and burnt him and sixty men in it." Then, leaving his brother in temporary possession of that earldom, "Halfdan took three long-ships, and fitted them out, and sailed into the West Sea." The Earl of Orkney at that time was Einar ("Turf" Einar), and on Halfdan's unexpected appearance he fled. For six months the Finn woman's son ruled over Orkney.

[1] In the edition of 1844, the word "Laplander" is used instead of "Fin" in these two instances, as also in the following chapter, where "the cunning of the Fin woman" is referred to. But the admirable edition of the present year employs "Fin" in each case. Whatever may have been the original distinction between "Fin" or "Finn" and "Lapp", it is evident that these two terms have very often been used indiscriminately, from an early period.

But in the autumn, Einar returned, and, "after a short battle", totally defeated and put to flight Halfdan and his followers. "Einar and his men lay all night without tents, and when it was light in the morning they searched the whole island, and killed every man they could lay hold of. Then Einar said: 'What is that I see upon the Isle of Ronaldsha?[1] Is it a man or a bird? Sometimes it raises itself up, and sometimes lies down again.' They went to it, and found it was Halfdan Haaleg, and took him prisoner." Einar thereupon killed Halfdan, and he and his men raised a mound of stones and gravel over the corpse; which mound, if not yet opened, will no doubt disclose to some modern craniologist the exact ethnological status of this semi-Finn.[2]

With regard to another brother of Halfdan's, Rognvald Rettilbeine, it is stated that he ruled over Hadeland, and became famous for his skill in witchcraft, in which he was no doubt instructed by his Lapp relatives. This, indeed, was the cause of his death. For, at the instigation of their common father, his half-brother Eric (Bloody-axe) "burned his brother Rognvald in a house along with eighty other warlocks", on account of these same alleged malpractices.

These are only a few recorded instances, which reveal the Finns and the non-Finns as sometimes closely allied not only by association, but by blood. But from them it may be inferred that many other intermarriages between the two races took place, and that the Finns, although eventually conquered as a distinct people, were frequently men of rank and importance among the Scandinavians of eight or nine centuries ago. As an instance of a Finn occupying an official position (certainly much inferior to that of the semi-Finnish kings of Ringerike, Hadeland, and Thoten), we

[1] It is stated of Einar that, although "he was ugly, and blind of an eye", he was "yet very sharp-sighted withal".

[2] Mr. John R. Tudor, in his very interesting book on *The Orkneys and Shetland* (London, 1883), indicates (p. 364) a certain district in the island of North Ronaldshay as the scene of Halfdan's death; and suggests that one of "three curious ridges or mounds" is probably that raised over Halfdan's body. But, of course, there is plenty of room for conjecture in the whole story. Indeed, whether the island on which Einar detected Halfdan was North Ronaldshay or South Ronaldshay, it was impossible for Einar to *see* anybody hiding there, if the battle was fought on the mainland of Orkney. It is possible, however, that the scene of the battle was the small island of Burray, and that Halfdan took refuge in *South* Ronaldshay, across the narrow strait. (It may be noted, although this is a mere coincidence, that it was in the church of Burray that one of the Finn kayaks was preserved, at the close of the seventeenth century; according to the testimony of Wallace.)

have the "Finn Sauda-Ulfsson", who appears as "engaged in drawing in King Inge's rents and duties" at Viken, Norway, in the twelfth century (*Heimskringla*, Saga XIV, chap. vii). And a certain notable Ketill flat-nose,[1] or Ketill Finn, whose memory is doubtless embalmed in Ketill's-sæter (now Kettlester), in the island of Yell, Shetland, was clearly of Finn blood. When he, and such as he—the semi-Ugrian sons of Harald, for example—held sway in Shetland and Orkney, and when men and women of either race occasionally, perhaps frequently, lived together, a state of things existed that closely resembled that described in Mr. Karl Blind's Shetlandic traditions—when "Finns came ow'r fa Norraway" in their "skin-sewed Finn-boats", and practised magic and witchcraft, and domineered over the people of the northern islands.

Of course, it is impossible to say what proportion the Finn blood bore to the other. Yet it is quite evident that the Finns, while often at war with the race that overcame them, were also frequently their allies, and that the two peoples became to some extent blended in blood. Consequently, when one discovers among modern British people physical traces of a race "not unlike the modern Eskimo", in localities famed as the scene of many a Scandinavian raid, these traces may reasonably be attributed to those very inroads.

These references bear specially upon those Finns who "came ow'r fa Norraway" to the islands of Shetland and Orkney. But if the assumption be correct that many of the Finns who landed in Shetland and fished in Shetlandic waters came thither direct from the Hebrides, it is to be presumed that Gaelic as well as English tradition has something to say regarding them. And as there are several words in use in Shetland which are also in use among West Highlanders,[2] it is not unlikely that these people may

[1] Mentioned, for example, in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i, 311-312. It is not out of place to refer here to a Mongoloid race of "Flat-noses" of whom Mr. Howorth speaks. These are the Nogais, who are known as "Manguts"; the word *Mangut*, or *Mangutah*, being "merely an appellative, meaning flat-nosed". "Dr. Clarke says of them: 'They are a very different people from the Tartars of the Crimea, and may be instantly distinguished by their diminutive form, and the dark copper colour of their complexion, sometimes almost black. They have a remarkable resemblance to the Laplanders, although their dress and manner has a more savage character.' Pallas enlarges also upon their specially Mongolian features. Klaproth says: 'Of all the Tartar tribes that I have seen, the Nogais bear by far the strongest resemblance in features and figure to the Mongols'." (Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, part ii, p. 2, and part iii, p. 71.)

[2] Such as *roo* and *mûl* (each used to denote a headland); *skerry*, a reef; *couthe*, the "cuddy" or coal-fish, and *broch*; all of which are found in Gaelic as *ru* (*rudha*), *maol*, *sgeir*, *cudan*, and *brog*.

may be known in the West Highlands by the same name as in Shetland.

It is quite clear that Highland tradition does bear testimony to the former existence of a special race or caste of people known by a name which resembles that of the Finns so closely that it may reasonably be regarded as only a variant of "Finn". In a certain charter of Alexander II of Scotland (A.D. 1214-49), reference is made to a well which is known in Gaelic as *Tuber na Feinn*, *Feinne*, or *Feyne;* and an old gloss (date unknown) explains that this term signifies "the Well of the grett or kempis men callit Fenis".[1] Or, in more modern English, "The Well of the great men or champions called *Feens*, *Fenns*, *Feenies*, or *Fennies*".[2] Here, then, we have record of a certain race of "kempies" or fighters, who were known in English as *Feens*, etc., and in Gaelic as the *Feinne*. One does not require to know much of Gaelic tradition—one need not know anything of it—to be well aware of the fact that that legendary lore is fairly alive with stories of the "Feinne", whatever may have been the ethnological position of the caste thus named. And, just as in modern Shetland we have people proclaiming with pride their descent from the *Finns*, so have we West Highlanders and Hebrideans boasting that the *Feinne* were among their forefathers. Just as Mr. Karl Blind met with a modern Shetland woman who asserted that she was "fifth from da Finns", so did the late Mr. J. F. Campbell, in 1871, converse with a Skyeman, "Donald MacDonald, styled Na Feinne"[3]—that is, "of the Feens". If the "Feinne" of Gaelic story are really the same people as the "Finns" of Shetlandic tradition, it will not be for lack of statements made regarding them if we do not learn a great deal more about these people through Gaelic channels.

Without either hastily accepting or condemning this hypothetical identification, let us look a little further into the circumstances of the Gaelic *Feinne*. And it may be as well first to decide upon an English equivalent of this Gaelic plural. Mr. J. F. Campbell states that the singular is *Fiann;* but, even when writing in English, he prefers to adhere to the Gaelic form of the plural—

[1] *See* p. lxxx of Dr. Skene's Introduction to *The Dean of Lismore's Book*, Edinburgh, 1862.

[2] Perhaps the old Scotch termination "is" ought not to be modernised into a separate syllable, as, whatever the force once given to it, that termination represents the modern plural and possessive "s". But if the "Fenis" of the gloss was dissyllabic, it has an equivalent in Shetland in the alternative "Finny", sometimes used instead of "Finn".

[3] See *Leabhar na Feinne*, London, 1872, p. iv.

thus, "the Feinn" or "the Feinne". However, both Dr. Skene and another writer (the late Rev. J. G. Campbell, Tiree), have Englished this into "the Fians". This approaches so closely to the marginal "Fenis" of the old charter of Alexander II, that we may take "the Feens" as a good enough modern English equivalent for the Gaelic plural. (For the vowels in *Fians* and *Feinne* receive the old or Continental pronunciation, these words having the sound of "Feeans" and "Fane", or "Fayny", according to modern English spelling.) In order, therefore, to avoid the confusion that might arise from Englishing "the Feinne" into "the Finns" (although we are tacitly assuming, in the meantime, that the latter really expresses the ethnological position of the former), let us refer to "the Feinne" of Gaelic story as "the Feens".[1]

So lately as the latter part of the seventeenth century, certain districts of Scotland were recognised as specially "the land of the Feinne". Dr. Skene, on the page which tells us of the *Tobar na Feinne*, or Well of the Feens, states that Kirke (the Rev. Robert Kirke, minister of Balquhidder, in Perthshire), in his Psalter, which was published in 1684, refers to the territory stretching from Loch Linnhe, north-west to, and inclusive of, the Outer Hebrides,[2] as "the generous land of the Feinne".

"The land of the Feens", therefore, according to this Scotch writer of the seventeenth century, embraced the Outer Hebrides and a certain portion of the opposite mainland, known in the Highlands as "the rough bounds". It is thus evident at the outset that we do not obviously make a false start in assuming that the *Feens* of Gaelic tradition ought to be regarded as forming a section of the *Finns* who visited Shetland in the seventeenth century. In 1684 Kirke regarded the Hebrides as the land of the Feens; in 1688 Wallace records the occasional arrival of Finns or Finn-men on the coasts of Orkney and Shetland. And we have already seen that skin kayaks, such as those which bore the Finn visitors to the islands of the north-east, were employed at about the same period by inhabitants of the Hebrides. Certain sections of the Hebrideans

[1] It may be added, that while Dr. Skene frequently speaks of "the Fians", and at other times of "the Feinne", he occasionally refers to "the Fenians". But, as this term has been recently usurped by a quasi-political faction, and as it is, moreover, less accurate than the other, we may at once reject it. The compound "Fingalian" has also little to recommend it.

[2] "The Rough-bounds (*Garbhcrioch*) and the Western Isles" is the expression used. The former term denoted that portion of the mainland between Loch Linnhe and Glenelg. Whether the Island of Skye ought to be included as one of the "Western Isles" is not quite clear.

are recorded in history as making warlike descents upon the fisheries of Orkney and Shetland. And these Hebrideans dwelt in "the land of the Feens".

But the seventeenth century is much too recent a date for studying the Gaelic accounts of the Feens. These accounts go back to the period when Gaelic was peculiarly associated with what seems to have been its earliest home in the British Islands—Ireland. That they also relate to the more recent period of the Irish or Gaelic settlements in Scotland is manifest. But they are substantially Gaelic (*i.e.*, Irish), and they deal with events which cannot be limited to the time of the Irish invasions of Scotland; and they relate to localities which are not merely British, but European.

"Who were the *Feens* of tradition, and to what country and period are they to be assigned?" is the question asked by one of the most learned of the authorities from whom these statements are obtained.[1] And his answer, after due consideration, is, that "we may fairly infer that they were of the population who immediately preceded the Scots [Gaels] in Erin [Ireland] and in Alban [Scotland, north of the Forth and Clyde], and that they belong to that period in the history of both countries before a political separation had taken place between them, when they were viewed as parts of one territory, though physically separated, and when a free and unrestrained intercourse took place between them; when race, and not territory, was the great bond of association, and the movements of their respective populations from one country to the other were not restrained by any feeling of national separation."[2]

Distinct and important as this announcement is, it requires still further consideration. Our guide in this question has shown us that in such modern times as the seventeenth century, the Feens of Scotland were restricted to a small corner of the West Highlands and to the Hebrides; which territory was so far associated with them that an intelligent writer of that century spoke of it as the land of the Feens. But Dr. Skene points also to a much earlier period, when the Feens inhabited, if they did not possess and exclusively occupy, the whole of Ireland and Irish-Scotland. And he indicates further that they had dwelt in these districts

[1] Dr. Skene, p. lxiv of his Introduction to the *Dean of Lismore's Book*. (Here, as elsewhere, I take the liberty of substituting *Feens* for the Gaelic plural *Feinne*.)

[2] *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxxviii.

before the advent of the Milesians (or Gaels). More than that, he shows us that the lands in which they lived included a portion of the continent of Europe.

In opposition to the theory manufactured by the Irish historians, that the Feens were "a standing body of Milesian militia, having peculiar privileges and strange customs", Dr. Skene holds the conviction that, "when looked at a little more closely", they "assume the features of a distinct race."[1] As a proof of this, he quotes three verses from an old poem on the Battle of Gabhra (or *Gawra*, as the more softened pronunciation has it). This battle of Gawra is said to have been fought in Ireland, on the border of the counties of Meath and Dublin, and it is placed by some in the third century A.D. It appears to have been the outcome of the resolution made by the High King of Ireland, Cormac Mac Art, to renounce for ever the tributary position which he and other kings occupied towards their over-lords, the Feens. The Irish monarch is said to have aimed at the complete extermination of the race in one district at least; to have "Great Alvin [apparently the modern Allen, near Dublin] cleared of the Feens".[2] At any rate, whatever its position in time and place, this battle clearly marks a crisis in the history of that latter race. For to them the battle of Gawra was a complete and crushing defeat; and thereafter their suzerainty was ended. "The kings did all own our sway till the battle of Gaura was fought", sings the bard of the Feens, "but since that horrid slaughter no tribute nor tax we've raised." The chroniclers state that the leader and an immense number of his warriors were killed, and only two thousand of the Feens of Ireland were left alive when the battle was over. And their bard sings thus:

> "Fiercely and bravely we fought,
> That fight, the fight of Gaura;
> Then did fall our noble Feinn,
> Sole to sole with Ireland's kings."[3]

But the Feenian army here engaged did not only consist of the Feens of Ireland; and this, indeed, is the reason why attention is now drawn to this battle. It is in regarding the battle of Gawra that we recognise the force of Dr. Skene's contention, that however the Feens may in later times have become restricted to this or that locality, they at one time formed a very widely spread *race*, the

[1] *Op. cit.*, Intro., pp. lxxiii-lxxiv. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

[3] For the above references, *see* pp. 36, 37, and 40 of the *Dean of Lismore's Book.*

various divisions of which were ready to hasten to the aid of any portion of this great confederacy in time of danger. Whether Dr. Skene is precisely correct in stating that "race, and not territory, was the great bond of association", is a mere question of words. Because the Gaelic traditions emphatically show that although Ireland and other neighbouring lands were occupied by people of non-Feenic race, who were governed by their own kings, yet, as these kings were *themselves* subject to the Feens, who drew tribute from them, the real owners of these various territories were the powerful though scattered over-lords, and not the races that were under their sway.[1] Mr. J. F. Campbell also states that the Feenic king was not distinguished by any *territorial* title: "always 'Rìgh na Fînne or Féinne'" (*West Highland Tales*, I, xiii). And in the pedigree which he gives on page 34 of his *Leabhar na Feinne*, and which was compiled by a good archæologist, the title given to three successive generations of the "royal family" of the Irish Feens is "General of the Feens" of Ireland; not "King of Ireland" itself.

This battle of Gawra, then, which seems to mark the period when the great Feenic confederacy was on the point of breaking up, was brought about by the evident resolve of the non-Feenic population of Ireland to throw off for ever this intolerable yoke. And the three verses which Dr. Skene extracts from the poem descriptive of the battle disclose to us that other sections of the Feenic confederacy had come to the help of that division which was resident in Ireland. The poem is supposed to be sung by a Feen of Ireland; and he states that

"The bands of the Feens of Alban,
And the supreme King of Britain,
Belonging to the order of the Feens of Alban,
Joined us in that battle.

"The Feens of Lochlin were powerful,
From the chief to the leader of nine men,
They mustered along with us
To share in the struggle.

* * * * * *

"Boinne, the son of Breacal, exclaimed,
With quickness, fierceness, and valour,—
'I and the Feens of Britain
Will be with Oscar of Emhain.'"

[1] Just as modern India is *British* India, although it is almost exclusively occupied by native races. (In this instance, of course, the position of *native* and *alien* is precisely the reverse from that which this "Feen" empire seems to denote.)

"There was thus in this battle", says Dr. Skene, "besides Feens of Ireland, Feens of Alban, Britain, and Lochlan."[1] Alban, he explains, denoted the whole of Scotland lying to the north of the Forth and Clyde. Britain, he states in this place, was South-Western Scotland. But elsewhere[2] he tells us that "Britain" signified "either Wales, or England and Wales together"; and again,[3] that that term included "England, Scotland, and Wales". At the very least, then, it denoted a part of Great Britain, then inhabited—not necessarily to the exclusion of other races—by Feens.

These two names, "Alban" and "Britain", do not, however, take us outside of the British Isles. But the third term, "Lochlan", does. "Lochlan", says our guide, "was the north of Germany, extending from the Rhine to the Elbe." And the Feens of that territory, the poem tells us, "from the chief to the leader of nine men", "mustered along with us [the Feens of Ireland] to share in the struggle", on this fateful day of Gawra.

Why Dr. Skene should limit "Lochlan" to these dimensions is not made quite clear. For Norway, Sweden, and Denmark constituted the "Lochlan" chiefly known to Gaelic writers. However, he seems to be of opinion that the term was "transferred" to Scandinavia in the ninth century, and that previously (as, for example, when the battle of Gawra was fought) it peculiarly denoted the more southern territory. If he is right in this, we cannot assume the Lochlan contingent as including the Feens of Norway. On the other hand, there does not seem to be any strong reason for believing that, at the date of Gawra, "Lochlan" did not take in the whole of Scandinavia, as in the ninth century and afterwards. It is at least noteworthy, in this connection, that in the pedigree previously referred to,[4] the mother of the ruler of the Feens of Ireland, when the battle of Gawra was fought, is stated to have been a *Finland* woman. Quite apart from the assumed identity of *Feen* and *Finn*, this indicates a kinship that was not limited even by the river Elbe.[5]

[1] *Dean of Lismore's Book*, p. lxxv. The spelling is here slightly modified.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 8, note 1.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 49, note.
[4] *Leabhar na Feinne*, p. 34.
[5] The Gaelic traditions have a good deal to say regarding a race of sea-rovers, styled *Fomorians;* which word is by some believed to be a latinized form of a Gaelic term denoting a seafaring people. As it is not improbable that this may be simply another name for the people now under consideration, the following is worth citing here: "That those adventurers whom our writers call Fomorians, have arrived hither in multitudes from that country whence the

But really the identity of *Feen* and *Finn* seems tolerably clear. Indeed, a contemporary writer,[1] who has studied ancient Ireland and its "Feinne" from his own point of view, appears to regard this identity as a thing perfectly manifest. And when, as tending to confirm this opinion, he embellishes his pages with several illustrations from scientific authorities in modern Finland, in which the ancient forms of art and dress are seen, it is plain that these designs are the same as those which are strongly associated with those portions of Scotland which were once known as The Land of the Feens.

Therefore, it appears probable that the "Feinne" of Lochlan, that is, of the country lying between the Rhine and the Elbe, who assisted their kindred in Ireland at the battle of Gawra, were simply the Finns of that territory. And that, consequently, that battle belongs to a period when the Mongoloid people, instead of being cut up, as now, into small detachments here and there, or amalgamated with other races, held a very distinct and important position throughout a considerable area of Europe.

However, this identity of "Feen" with "Finn" may not appear to some people as even a probability, without a fuller investigation into the circumstances of the people known to Gaelic tradition as the *Feinne*. It may therefore be desirable to continue to refer to the "Finns" of Gaelic folk-lore by the name of "Feens".

"The Feens, then, belonged to the pre-Milesian races, and were connected, not only with Ireland, but likewise with Northern and Central Scotland, England and Wales, and the territory lying between the Rhine and the Elbe.[2] Now, there are just two people mentioned in the Irish records who had settlements in Ireland, and who yet were connected with Great Britain and the region between the Rhine and the Elbe. These were the people termed the Tuatha De Danann, and the Cruithné." So says the learned annotator of *The Dean of Lismore's Book*.[3]

These two last-named races, we are told, are both traditionally

Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians came, is a circumstance that may be collected from this account, that the father-in-law of Tuathal is said, in the genealogy of the kings of Ireland, to have been king of the Fomorians of Finland." (O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, Hely's translation, Dublin, 1793, vol. i, p. 19.)

[1] Mr. Charles de Kay, in the course of several learned articles on early life in Ireland, contributed to *The Century Magazine* during the present year.

[2] It is to be remembered that "Lochlan", the term used to denote the territory last named, was ultimately applied to the whole of Scandinavia, and *may* have been used in its widest sense at the period here referred to.

[3] *Introduction*, p. lxxvi. In the above, I have again taken the liberty of modifying the various designations.

brought from the Elbe and Rhine districts to Ireland and Scotland, and both are eventually subdued by the later-arriving Milesian Scots. The period given for the Milesian conquest of the Cruithné of Scotland, is the ninth century of the Christian era.

Leaving the "Tuatha De Danann" out of the question, in the meantime, let us look at the contemporary, and probably kindred, "Cruithné". The Cruithné, Cruithneach, or Cruithnigh, are unquestionably deserving of study, for Dr. Skene has shown us[1] that this is merely another name for those people whom history chiefly knows as "the Picts". The traditional "Feens", therefore, are to be identified with the historical "Picts".

Now, although these people are, as we have just seen, believed to have come from the Continental country of "Lochlan" (Scandinavia, in the largest acceptation of that term, or, in its most restricted sense, the region lying between the Rhine and the Elbe), and although there is every reason to believe that they spread themselves all over the British Isles, yet they seem—regarded as "Picts"—to be chiefly associated with North Britain. Their memory is still preserved, topographically, by the name of *Pentland* (formerly *Petland* or *Pehtland*, and *Pictland*), which is borne by the stormy firth separating the Orkneys from Caithness, and also by the range of hills lying to the south of Edinburgh. Both of these names are unquestionably derived from the time when there was a "land of the Picts" in either of these neighbourhoods. But the Picts, as such, are remembered all over Scotland, in history and in tradition. It is chiefly in connection with Ireland that they are spoken of as Cruithné.

If the "Feens" of tradition were *Cruithné*, or *Picts*, it is evident that whatever is known with regard to the history, customs, appearance, and language of the Picts will help us to decide as to whether the *Feens* were really one with the *Finns* of history, ethnology, and tradition. This, as already remarked, on general grounds, seems very probable. But, when a very able historian assures us that the historical Cruithné or Picts must certainly be at least classed with the Feens of tradition, if these three terms do not actually include one people, we are enabled, by proceeding upon this assumption, to obtain further proofs in corroboration of this belief.

Whether regarded as Feens or as Picts, these people, we are informed, had settlements throughout the British Isles during the

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i, p. 131 ; vol. iii, chap. iii, etc. See also his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*,

earlier centuries of the Christian era, and the country of their origin was Northern Germany (or, more vaguely, Scandinavia); in which country large sections of their kindred continued to dwell, and to maintain a system of confederacy with the Western or British section long after the latter had settled in their new home. This, at any rate, when viewed as Feens.

On the other hand, such a writer as Mr. H. Howorth demonstrates that, during the same period, the Mongoloid races formed a most important, and in some places a preponderating, portion of the inhabitants of the countries of Northern Europe. But, during that period, these Mongolian races have—he points out—been subjected to an unceasing process of expulsion from their neighbours on the south and south-east. If any race, therefore, arrived in the British Islands from the neighbourhood of the Baltic in the centuries immediately preceding or following the birth of Christ, the probability is that that race belonged to one division or another of these dispossessed Ugrian people.

If this were so—if the Cruithné or Picts, who came to Britain from the Baltic lands, were one with, or closely akin to, the Finns and Lapps—their characteristics must have been those of such people. For example, their religious beliefs. Now, one cannot read Dr. Skene's references to the heathen religion of the Cruithné without seeing that it strongly resembles that of the Lapps and Finns.[1] Without quoting these references in detail, it may be pointed out that the power of bringing on a snowstorm and darkness, and unfavourable winds, was among the mysteries of the Pictish priests. And this gift of commanding the elements was peculiarly associated with the Finns and Lapps, as it still is with the Eskimo "sorcerers" of Greenland. "In the Middle Ages", says a writer on sorcery,[2] "the name of *Finn* was equivalent to sorcerer." And as the same writer observes that "the old authors often confounded the Finns with the Lapps, and when they speak of Finns, it is very difficult to know which of these two peoples they refer to" (a confusion of terms which we have already had occasion to remark), we may here use the term *Finn* to denote both divisions. Tentatively, at any rate. The actual Lapps appear to have been the most powerful magicians of all that caste. "It is proved by numerous documents", continues M. Tuchmann, "that the Finns called the Lapps sorcerers, although they themselves were reputed to be great magicians; but they regarded

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 108-16.
[2] M. J. Tuchmann, in *Mélusine*, t. iv, no. 16.

themselves as inferior to their neighbours, for they habitually said, when speaking of their most famous sorcerers : ' He is a veritable ' Lapp.' "[1] However, since " Finn" has so frequently been used to denote the whole group, and since the most recent examples of these people in the British Isles, namely, the magic-working Finns of Shetland, have borne that title, we may adhere to the practice of referring to both divisions as " Finns".

The Picts or Cruithné, therefore, practised the magic of the Finns. That is, the *Feens* practised the magic of the *Finns*.[2]

Again, when we look at certain weapons used by the *Feens*, a similar resemblance is visible. According to a tradition, taken down from the recital of an old Hebridean, the spears or darts of the Feens, which were known in Gaelic as " *tunnachan*" were of this description : " They were sticks with sharp ends made on them, and these ends burned and hardened in the fire. They [the Feens] used to throw them from them, and they could aim exceedingly with them, and they could drive them through a man. They used to have a bundle with them on their shoulders, and a bundle in their oxters [under their arm-pits]. I myself have seen one of them that was found in a moss, that was as though it had been hardened in the fire."[3] " This, then", justly remarks Mr. Campbell, "gives the popular notion of the heroes [the Feens], and throws them back beyond the iron period."

While the fashion of referring to "periods" of iron, bronze, etc., is very apt to mislead (since contiguous peoples have been, and are, in different "periods" of this nature, at the same moment of time), it is at least clear from the above tradition that the most primitive form of dart was associated with the Feens. But, although this species of weapon is of great antiquity, it does not follow that a tradition which relates to people who employed it is

[1] Mr. Charles de Kay, in one of the valuable articles already referred to, remarks ("Woman in Early Ireland", *Century Magazine*, July 1889, p. 439) : " Although in the Kalewala the tribes of Pohjola, or the Lapps, are considered foul magicians, and ever the foe of the heroes of Kaleva, or the Finns, yet it is from Pohjola that Waïnamoïnen and his comrades always take their brides by force or by purchase." This quotation not only confirms the above account of M. Tuchmann, but it also illustrates the fact that even the most antagonistic races do not refrain from mixing their blood. Thus it may be seen how Lapps and Finns could eventually become almost identified. And the *Heimskringla* shows us how, in turn, this composite Finno-Lapp race could later on become blended with that of the Haralds and Sigurds of the Sagas.

[2] This has already been propounded by the late Mr. J. F. Campbell (*West Highland Tales*, iv, 29-30).

[3] *West Highland Tales*, iii, 394-5.

necessarily of great antiquity also. Or that those javelin-men were at all "pre-historic". We have already seen that a race of people employed darts in exactly the same way when fishing—or, perhaps, more correctly, when seal-hunting—within British waters, only two hundred years ago. And the people who in this respect resembled the *Feens* of Gaelic folk-lore are themselves remembered as *Finns*.

But perhaps the readiest and surest way of obtaining something like a true conception of these legendary Feens, is to regard them from the ethnological point of view, as well, that is, as our imperfect information will allow. We shall therefore look at them in this aspect, whether considered as *Picts* or *Cruithné*, or as *Feens*.

The great hero of the Feenic legends, and the "King" or "General" of the Feens of Ireland, was the famous "Finn" or "Fionn". If the battle of Gawra was really fought in the third century, as is alleged, and if this "Fionn" was a real man, and not the type or "eponymus" of his race, then he ought to be assigned to the third century. For he is said to have been present at that battle, where his grandson was slain and the supremacy of his race destroyed. At any rate, whether he lived at that date or not, and whether he was an individual or merely a personification of his race, Fionn figures throughout the tales of these people as a very Feen of the Feens.

Now, among the many stories told of him, there is one entitled "How Fin[1] went to the Kingdom of the Big Men". It is unnecessary to give all the particulars of this tale. But Fin is pictured as starting from Dublin Bay in his little coracle (*curachan*) on his voyage to the country of the Big Men. Although he is described as "hoisting the spotted, towering sails", they cannot have been very large or very many, for the coracle was so small that "Fin was guide in her prow, helm in her stern, and tackle in her middle", and when he landed on the coast of the Big Men's country, he drew his tiny vessel, unaided, up into the dry grass, above the tide-mark. It ought to be added, however, that this coracle was an open boat, capable of holding at least four persons; as is shown on the return voyage.

After landing, Fin encountered a "big wayfarer" (*taisdealach mòr*), who informed him that his king had long been in want of a dwarf (*troich*), and that Fin would suit him capitally. "He took with him Fin; but another big man (*fear mòr*) came, and was

[1] So spelt in the English translation given by the Rev. John G. Campbell, minister of Tiree, in *The Scottish Celtic Review*, Glasgow, 1885, pp. 184-90.

going to take Fin from him. The two fought; but when they had torn each other's clothes, they left it to Fin to judge. He chose the first one. He took Fin with him to the palace of the king, whose worthies and high nobles assembled to see the little man (*an duine bhig*)". And then and there Fin was installed as the royal dwarf.[1]

In this story, then, we have the tacit admission that, not far from Fin's home at the hill of Allen, Kildare, there was a country whose inhabitants were so much taller than the race of Fin, that the latter were mere dwarfs beside them. Now, this is precisely *the most striking* characteristic of the kayak-using Finns of Shetlandic tradition.

The *Finns* of Shetland folk-lore are, says Mr. Karl Blind, "reckoned among the *Trows*". The king of the *Feens* was hailed in the country of the big men as a *Troich*. And these are simply two forms of the same word. *Troich* or *droich*, among Gaelic-speaking people, is softened into *trow* or *drow* among the English-speaking Shetlanders.[2] In both cases it signifies "dwarf".

And, just as the Shetlanders have memories of a race of small men, who, in spite of their mean stature, were a terror to the taller people, whom they oppressed and took tribute from, so have the Gaelic-speaking people a mass of legends which also tell of similar dwarfish but dreaded tyrants. The former designate their dwarfs "Finns": if the Gaelic traditions are not equally definite, they at least suggest that a caste of "Feens", who levied a tax upon the Gaelic-speaking people, were themselves dwarfs in stature. And the Highland tales abound in stories of fierce and tyrannical dwarfs.

But, if the legendary "Feens" are identical with, or closely akin to, the Picts of history, then the historical Picts must also belong to this stunted Eskimo-like race. Let us look at the people called "Picts".

And, first of all, since the word "Pict" is admittedly the result

[1] Referring to the component parts of Fin's army on a certain occasion, Mr. Charles de Kay remarks ("Early Heroes of Ireland", *Century Magazine*, June 1889, p. 200): "The battalion of 'middle-sized men' and that of 'small men' we may understand as recruited from the true hunter and fisher tribes, who gave the name Fenian to the army itself, and Fion to the folk-hero."

[2] *Trow* is the favourite form among the Shetlanders; but other forms are given by Edmondston in his *Glossary*, such as *drow*, *troll*, *troil*, *troilya*, and *trolld*. The Shetland terms are, therefore, also variants of the Scandinavian *troll*, following a common Scotch tendency, which modifies *boll*, *knoll*, *poll*, *roll*, etc., into *bow*, *know*, *pow*, *row*, etc. (the vowel sound being as in *now*). But whichever form may be the oldest, it is manifest that *trow* or *drow*, and *troich* or *droich*, are radically one.

of a pun or a misapprehension on the part of Latin-speaking people, it may be as well to discard that special spelling. The forms which the word appears to have most commonly taken in the mouths of the country-people of Scotland are *Pik*, *Pech*, *Pecht*, and *Peht* (the *ch* being of course pronounced as in German). Doubtless, other forms might be adduced; but perhaps the best compromise is *Pecht*. What, then, are the accounts given with regard to the stature of the Pechts?

The question is practically answered at once in considering the nature of the dwellings that the traditions of Scotland unanimously assign to these people.

"The only tradition which I heard current on the subject of the former inhabitants of the country", says a writer on Shetland,[1] "was, that the remains of old dwellings were Pechts' houses, and that those who lived in them were little men." And, in reporting to the Anthropological Society of London the result of an archæological tour in Shetland, Dr. James Hunt[2] remarks of such "old dwellings"—"These remains are called 'Pights' or Picts' houses.' Mr. Umfray [a local archæologist] surmises that they were originally 'pights', or dwarfs' houses. Dwarfs, in this locality, are still called *pcchts*."[3] And the present writer, when visiting a "Pict's house" three or four miles north of the place just spoken of, and which had also been inspected by Dr. Hunt, obtained similar testimony. This place is known as Saffester, or Seffister, and its antiquarian features consist of the remains of a chambered tumulus and a separate subterranean gallery. The latter is referred to by one writer as a "Pict's house", although it is only a passage. As, however, local tradition alleges that it leads to the chambered mound, the name may be correct enough. Now, this tumulus was opened fifty or more years ago by the parish minister.[4] And an old man, who was then a boy, informed the writer that the entrance was effected by what he and his boy companions had always called "the *trow's* door". Another similar experience of the writer's yields a like result. Near Hamna Voe, at the south end of the island of Yell, there is a small loch and islet, with the remains of a "broch", the loch being known as "the loch of Kettlester". The

[1] Rev. J. Russell, *Three Years in Shetland.* Paisley and London, 1887, pp. 135-6.

[2] See the Society's *Memoirs*, 1865-6, vol. ii, pp. 294-338.

[3] The spelling *pight*, which Dr. Hunt uses above, must clearly represent the guttural and vowel sound of *licht*, *micht*, *dight*, etc., in "broad Scotch". Without this caution, the reader would naturally infer the sound of *pite*.

[4] Rev. J. Bryden: see *Anthrop. Soc. Mem.*, *ut supra.*

"broch" that once stood there (for the ruins no longer retain their original shape) was built by "the Pechts", said the intelligent lad (a native of the district) who was the writer's guide, and these Pechts he described as very small people.[1]

The popular Shetland notions regarding the Pechts are again repeated by a lady writer, who has the advantage of being herself a Shetlander[2]: "The first folks that ever were in our isles were the Picts. They had no ships, only small boats. They were very small [people]." Indeed, so much has their small stature been impressed upon the popular memory, that, as we have seen, "dwarfs, in this locality, are still called *pechts*". Nor is it only in Shetland that this word has such a meaning. In Aberdeenshire *picht* denotes a dwarfish person, and Dr. Jamieson, in recording the fact,[3] suggests its connection with "the *pichts* or *pechts*, whom the vulgar view as a race of pigmies." In the south of Scotland, also, this signification appears to prevail; for the Ettrick Shepherd, in the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, employs "pegh" as an everyday synonym for "dwarf". In point of fact, although it has just been stated that dwarfs "are still called *pechts*" in Shetland, because of the small size of the race so known to history, it is really a question whether the historical people did not so become historically remembered *because* a pre-existing word fitly described their dwarfish stature. But this etymological point is of little importance here.

Although Shetland has been chiefly considered in these recent remarks, it will be seen that the popular belief regarding the stature of the Pechts is apparently common to the whole of Scotland. Dr. Jamieson evidently thought so when he referred to "the Pichts, or Pechts, whom the vulgar view as a race of pigmies". And he does not stand alone. "Throughout Scotland", says another writer, "the vulgar account is 'that the *Pechs* were unco wee bodies, but terrible strang'; that is, that they were of very small stature, but of

[1] Close to Kettlester there is a noted haunt of the "trows", which bears the name of *Houlland*. With this may be compared *Troil-Houlland*, which adjoins Seffister, of "trow" memory. This very common Shetland termination "ster" or "setter" is the Icelandic *setr*, a dwelling; and these two names resolve themselves respectively into dwellings of *Kettle* and *Seffi*. The former name at once recalls the ninth century *Ketil Flat-nose* of the Sagas; and this "setr", still associated with dwarfs (otherwise *trows* or *pechts*), may have been one of his dwellings.

[2] Mrs. Saxby, in "Folk-lore from Unst, Shetland" (Part V), contributed to *The Leisure Hour*, 1880.

[3] *Scottish Dictionary* (Supplement), *s. v.* "Picht."

prodigious strength."[1] "Long ago", quotes the late Robert Chambers,[2] and his quotation also applies to the whole of Scotland, "there were people in this country called the Pechs; short, wee men they were,"—and so on.

Enough has been said to show that the ideas held by the "vulgar" (whose traditions, once contemptuously rejected by scholars, are nowadays being rated at their true value), throughout Scotland, with respect to the Pechts, agree in describing those people as decidedly dwarfish in stature. And this belief is most convincingly borne out by the dwellings which the Pechts are believed to have inhabited; the "Pechts' houses" which we glanced at a few paragraphs back, and which speedily led us to consider the Pechts themselves. No man of the average height of modern British people, who has personally inspected these "Pechts' houses", can arrive at any other conclusion than that they were built and inhabited by people of a stature very much less than his own. This is a point so manifest that it need not be emphasised to those who have stooped, squeezed, and crept among the chambers and passages of a "Pictish broch". A few particulars of measurement would quickly convince others; but such details need not be entered into here. However, something may be said with regard to the appearance of the dwelling which may best be regarded as the typical "Pecht's house".

In a *Notice of the Brochs and the so-called Picts' Houses of Orkney*, submitted to the Anthropological Society of London,[3] Mr. George Petrie points out that "the name Pict's house is applied indiscriminately, in the northern counties of Scotland, to every sort of ancient structure". And as there is certainly a great difference, in degree, between the various structures referred to, we may here accept Mr. Petrie's guidance as to what constitutes the typical "Pict's house". "The class of buildings to which I have for many years restricted the appellation of *Pict's house* have been", says Mr. Petrie, "very different from the brochs,[4] both in external ap-

[1] *The Topography of the Basin of the Tay*, by James Knox, Edinburgh, 1831, p. 108. This writer adds that "they are said to have been about three or four feet in height"; and it may be mentioned that when I asked my young guide at Kettlester the exact height of the small Pechts he had just been speaking of, he said, "About that height", indicating at the same time a stature of three feet or so. Whatever their height really was, this young Shetlander's ideas were in agreement with those held "throughout Scotland".

[2] *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, p. 80.

[3] *See* the Society's *Memoirs*, 1865-6, vol. ii, pp. 216-225.

[4] The term "broch" has been used in a general sense in this paper. This its etymology permits: for it is the same word as *borough*, *burgh*, *burg*, *barrow*,

pearance and general structure and arrangements. The *Pict's house* is generally of a conical form, and externally closely resembles a large bowl-shaped barrow. It consists of a solid mass of masonry, covered with a layer of turf, a foot or more in thickness, and has a central chamber surrounded by several smaller cells. The entrance to the central chamber from the outside is by a long, low, narrow passage; while the cells are connected with the chamber by short passages of similar dimensions to the long one. The walls of the chambers and cells converge towards the top, where they approach so closely that the aperture can be spanned by a stone a couple of feet in length." The most perfect structure of this kind in Orkney is the well-known Maes-how. Maes-how does not appear to be popularly styled a Pict's house, but Mr. Petrie rightly regards it as belonging to that class of building, only "more carefully and elaborately constructed".

Another writer[1] describes a Pict's house—that on Wideford Hill, near Kirkwall—in these terms: "All that meets the eye at first is a green, conical mound, with an indescribable aspect of something *eerie* and weird about it, resting silently amid the moorland solitude. On closer inspection we discover an entrance passage, about eighteen inches high and two feet broad, leading from the lower side into the interior of the prehistoric dwelling,"—and so on.

The resemblance between this kind of dwelling, or its more modern representative, the "bee-hive" hut of the Hebrides and Western Ireland, to the dwellings of modern Eskimos has long been recognised. But it may be permitted to quote here from the accounts given by two Arctic voyagers of the early part of this century, especially as these accounts, both relating to the most northern tribes of Greenland, appear to describe with peculiar exactness the "Pict's house" of Mr. Petrie.

Captain Scoresby, in the account of his explorations in the year 1822, thus describes the deserted dwellings of some of those northern Eskimos:

etc. But the students of these ancient structures have recently restricted "broch" to the more elaborate and superior building of the round or "martello" tower order. This definition is very convenient, and saves much confusion. In spite, however, of the great difference that Mr. Petrie speaks of, as between the so-called "Pictish" broch and the humbler dwelling that alone is recognised by him as a "Pict's house", it is yet evident that the "broch" is to a very great extent evolved from the more primitive and rudimentary "Pict's house".

[1] Mr. Daniel Gorrie, in *Summers and Winters in the Orkneys*, London, 1869, p. 117.

"The roofs of all the huts had either been removed or had fallen in; what remained, consisted of an excavation in the ground at the brow of the bank, about 4 feet in depth, 15 in length, and 6 to 9 in width. The sides of each hut were sustained by a wall of rough stones, and the bottom appeared to be gravel, clay, and moss. The access to these huts, after the manner of the Esquimaux, was a horizontal tunnel perforating the ground, about 15 feet in length, opening at one extremity on the side of the bank, into the external air, and, at the other, communicating with the interior of the hut. This tunnel was so low, that a person must creep on his hands and knees to get into the dwelling: it was roofed with slabs of stone and sods. This kind of hut being deeply sunk in the earth, and being accessible only by a subterranean passage, is generally considered as formed altogether under ground. As, indeed, it rises very little above the surface, and as the roof, when entire, is generally covered with sods, and clothed with moss or grass, it partakes so much of the appearance of the rest of the ground, that it can scarcely be distinguished from it. I was much struck by its admirable adaptation to the nature of the climate and the circumstances of the inhabitants. The uncivilised Esquimaux, using no fire in these habitations, but only lamps, which serve both for light and for warming their victuals, require, in the severities of winter, to economise, with the greatest care, such artificial warmth as they are able to produce in their huts. For this purpose, an under-ground dwelling, defended from the penetration of the frost by a roof of moss and earth, with an additional coating of a bed of snow, and preserved from the entrance of the piercing wind by a long subterranean tunnel, without the possibility of being annoyed by any draught of air, but what is voluntarily admitted—forms one of the best contrivances which, considering the limited resources, and the unenlightened state of these people, could possibly have been adopted."[1]

Scoresby's description fully corroborates that given by Captain Ross a few years earlier, when relating his visit to the Eskimos living about the north-eastern corner of Baffin's Bay. These people he describes as "short in stature, seldom exceeding five feet", and he mentions that their sorcerers alleged "that it was in their power to raise a storm or make a calm, and to drive off seals and birds". With regard to their dwellings, he says:

"None of their houses were seen, but they described them as built entirely of stone, the walls being sunk about three feet into the earth, and raised about as much above it. They have no windows, and the entrance is by a long, narrow passage, nearly under ground. Several families live in one house, and each has a lamp made of hollowed stone, hung from the roof, in which they burn the blubber of the seal, etc., using dried moss for

[1] This extract is quoted from the review in the *Scots Magazine of* 1823 (pp. 457-8) of Captain Scoresby's *Journal* (published 1823).

a wick, which is kindled by means of iron and stone. This lamp, which is never extinguished, serves at once for light, warmth, and cooking."[1]

It is not out of place to refer here also to an instructive article on "The Archæology of Lighting Appliances", read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., in the course of which he describes the stone lamps found in the habitations known as "brochs" (and popularly assigned to the Picts), with regard to which lamps he states that although not quite identical in shape with those used by modern Eskimos, they are substantially identical, and must have been used in precisely the same way. Comparing this with Baron Nordenskiöld's accounts, Mr. Romilly Allen observes: "The picture here given of the domestic life of the Eskimos at the present time enables us to form a tolerably correct idea of the way in which the inhabitants of the Scottish brochs lighted their dwellings during the long winter nights two thousand years ago." (*Proceedings of Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, 1887-88, p. 84.).

From all of these remarks, then, it will be seen that the dwelling of the dwarfish Eskimo and the "house" assigned by Scottish tradition to the Pechts, or dwarfs, are substantially one. And a consideration of the statements also demonstrates clearly that, whatever the age of the word "pecht", none but a race of dwarfish stature would have built such places of abode. Indeed, the stature of the dwellers in the Pecht's house is doubly impressed upon the memory of the Northern Islanders. When Mr. Gorrie describes its outward appearance, he tells us (in similar terms to the Arctic voyagers), that "all that meets the eye at first is a green, conical mound . . . resting silently amid the moorland solitude". But he really repeats himself, although he is not aware of it, when he refers on another page[2] to "the simple superstition (?) long prevalent among the inhabitants of Orkney and Zetland, that the strange green mounds rising by the sea-side and on solitary moors, were the abodes of supernatural beings known by the name of Trows". Of the "supernatural" attributes assigned to those people, or claimed by them—in early Scotland, in Lapland, and in Greenland—something remains to be said. But the people just referred to under two different, but synonymous, names, are undoubtedly one and the same.

The Pechts of history, then, were a race of dwarfs. Thus, when

[1] From an extract contained in the review (*Scots Magazine*, 1819, vol. iv, pp. 332-3) of Capt. Ross's account (published by John Murray, London, 1819).

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

Dr. Skene identifies the Feens of Gaelic folk-lore with the historic Pechts, he reveals them to us as a race of dwarfs. Therefore, the traditional story of the Feen chief's visit to the "country of the big men", where he was regarded by that latter race as a "droich", is entirely in accordance with Dr. Skene's belief that the Feens were of the same race as the historic Pechts. It is not at all unlikely that this identity was taken for granted long before the nineteenth century, and in Scotland. In Allan Ramsay's *Evergreen*, a collection of Scottish poems written before the year 1600, there is a certain "Interlude of the Droichs", also referred to as "The Droichs' Part of a Play". Now, the spokesman of these droichs (or trows, or dwarfs) announces himself as a grandson of Fin, the great chief of the Feens of Ireland. And he makes a statement which is identical with one contained in a Feenic poem on the battle of Gawra. This statement need not be particularised here, but it tells us unmistakably that these "droichs" were regarded as the representatives of Fin and his Feens.[1] Therefore, it would appear from this poem that Fin and his Feens were regarded by the ruling class in Scotland, prior to 1600, as dwarfs. That is, as *pechts*.

Within the limits of this paper it is impossible to deal with even a few of the many points raised by the acceptance of these deductions. But all that has here been said tends to show that the *Feinne* of Gaelic folk-lore, and the Finns of Northern history and tradition, ought to be regarded as one and the same people. And that one section, at any rate, of such people ought to be identified with the Pechts, or Picts, of history.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

[1] The fact that the "Interlude" is allegorical does not at all affect the question.

DOMESDAY MEASURES OF LAND.

IT had been my wish, in my previous paper (*Arch. Rev.*, June 1888) on the above subject, to spare Mr. Pell as much as possible, and not criticise his eccentric theories so severely as they deserved. Since he has thought fit, however, to retort in angry language, I propose now to expose frankly one of the most mischievous heresies that has ever been advanced.

But let me first point out that, in his attempted reply, Mr. Pell does not even venture to meet my cardinal objection—viz., that while rightly urging "that the terms made use of in reference to the lands on which the taxation was laid must have been of a kind so certain and so sure, that, when any portion of the survey was sent to the king's officers, it would carry on the face of it the information required, without the need of a local interpreter to explain its meaning"—he yet claims for himself the right to interpret these sure and certain terms in any one of half-a-dozen different meanings that may suit his purpose.

Further, I proved by mathematical demonstration that where, as in the case of Burwell, we can test the truth of his arbitrary interpretation, it is found to be quite erroneous. This objection is passed over by Mr. Pell in significant silence.

Thirdly, I established by mathematical demonstration that Mr. Pell's assumption as to the *Domesday* text meaning the exact reverse in some counties of what it means in others is "simply blown to pieces" by record evidence. This objection, which of itself vitiates all his calculations, is dismissed by Mr. Pell as "certain weak criticisms". He does not venture, however, to dispute my evidence, nor can he.

Mr. Pell's charge, that I have "omitted to state correctly" his words, appears to be based on the sentence (quoted by me)—"under what circumstances, and why this should have been the case, it is hard to say." These words will be found on p. 69 of his paper on the "Domesday Geldable Hide" (*Camb. Ant. Soc. Trans.*).

I can, however, convict Mr. Pell of completely misrepresenting my own words. He shelters himself triumphantly (p. 358) behind Canon Taylor, who agrees with him, he says, as to certain counties,

and whose calculations, I admit, have attained "marked success". But I had carefully guarded myself, it will be found (vol. i, p. 286), by the words—

"Canon Taylor has attempted the task for the carucates in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and appears, *within that limited area*, to have attained marked success."

With the Canon's hint as to possibilities outside "that limited area" I do not agree, any more than I agree with Mr. Pell, who has, consequently, no right whatever to say that I do.

Having now briefly illustrated the character of Mr. Pell's reply, I proceed to dispose of his theories, and of the arguments by which they are supported.

Let us first take Mr. Pell's own manor of Wilburton, of which his knowledge is more exhaustive, we learn, than of any other.[1] To its details he is continually referring, as to a test-case. Now here, as elsewhere, Mr. Pell claims to establish that the surveys of 1277 and 1221 give us exactly the same area as that which is recorded in *Domesday*, and exactly the same number of acres to the virgate.[2] This is, indeed, the essence of his case, the proof that his theories are correct. Accordingly, in the case of Wilburton, he first gives us the area recorded in *Domesday Book*, of which the alleged aggregate is 864 acres, and then gives the area recorded in 1277, of which the alleged aggregate is 864 acres, "making the exact quantity that was found to be in *Domesday* and the *Inquisitio Eliensis*".[3] And in each case the area of the virgate is precisely the same, namely, 24 acres.[4] This convincing proof rests on two legs: (1) That *Domesday* records an aggregate area of 864 acres (with a virgate of 24 acres); that the Survey of 1277 records an aggregate area of 864 acres (with a virgate of 24 acres). With the second of these demonstrations I am not now concerned. It may be right, or it may not. In any case, I confine myself to *Domesday*. How, then, does Mr. Pell extract from *Domesday* the above figures? By the simplest of all processes. He finds that what he requires to prove for his purpose is, that the

[1] "It is only by obtaining more detailed information that a correct judgment can be formed; and fortunately, in some cases at least, we have it. I propose to take the manor of Wilburton as a first example, because I have the means of testing, and have tested, its case," etc. (*C. A. S. C.*, vol. vi, p. 21.)

[2] "He further stated that he had found no instance in which *Domesday Book* and the two MSS. did not agree as to the area of the virgate of the homines in the manor so surveyed." (*Ibid.*, p. x.)

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 100 (Table I).

terra ad unam carucam of the *homines*, in *Domesday*, was here 108 acres, composed of four-and-a-half virgates of 24 statute acres each. And how does he prove it? *He simply assumes it!* Here are his own words:—

"Assuming for the present that at Wilburton the *terra ad unam carucam* of the *homines*, at any rate, consisted of four-and-a-half virgates of 24 statute acres each, and each being a *plena terra*."

These words, which occur incidentally between brackets, are all the proof Mr. Pell attempts to adduce. *Domesday* tells us nothing more than that there were seven plough-lands,[1] of which three were *in dominio;* but Mr. Pell unhesitatingly assumes precisely what he has to prove, namely, that the four remaining plough-lands consisted each of 108 acres, divided into four-and-a-half virgates. Now, if we turn to his Table III (p. 100), we find that for the dozen manors, of which Wilburton is one, he allows himself a range of from 60 acres to 120 acres for the area of the tenant's *terra*, and of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ virgates as its contents. What ground, then, has he for assuming that in this case of Wilburton, and in this case alone, the area was 108 acres, and the component virgates $4\frac{1}{2}$? *None whatever*, either from *Domesday* or from the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. He has simply pitched on these figures because they are those which he requires, and, having done so, he actually produces them as proof that his theories are correct. Surely, no more startling inversion of proof has ever been gravely set forth by mortal man!

But even this is not all. Mr. Pell, not being able, even by this assumption, to evolve from *Domesday* that area of 864 acres which he requires, boldly inserts "*Pratum*, 39 acres", and thus produces his total. Now, remember that this total is professedly extracted from *the evidence of "Domesday" and the "Inquisitio Eliensis"*. Yet, in neither of these records is there one word about *Pratum*, still less about 39 acres! They are absolutely silent on the point.

Now I am sorry to say that, after careful study and thorough dissection of Mr. Pell's tables, I am satisfied that we have here the key to all his elaborate calculations. Starting, in the case of each manor, from the virgate of a thirteenth-century record, he has simply assumed that the virgate of *Domesday* contained the same area, and has then modified (I am sorely tempted to use the word "cooked") the language of *Domesday* to suit that assumption. Having done so, he confidently appeals to the fact that in every instance *Domesday Book* and the Surveys of the thirteenth cen-

[1] "Terra est septem carucarum."

tury "agree as to the area of the virgate of the *homines* in the manors so surveyed"!

Anyone can test my conclusion for himself. Let him take as his starting-point the parallel columns in which Mr. Pell has placed side by side the area of the virgate in *Domesday Book* and in the thirteenth-century MS. Let him then trace how the language of *Domesday* is modified (tampered with, the student may be tempted to complain) to arrive at the required area. Infinite are the modifiers in power. For instance, *x* hides *plus* 1 virgate may mean *x* hides *plus* 1 virgate, or *x* (hide + 1 virgate), or simply *x* hides ("*Anglico numero*"), as you please. The geldable hide itself connotes an area varying from 120 acres to 288, and may contain any number of virgates from 3 to 20.[1] The *terra* of *Domesday* may mean anything from 30 acres to 120, and may contain any number of virgates from 1 to 9. Then you can also count 5 as 6, if convenient (not systematically, but wherever you like). Lastly, if, even with these resources, you cannot bring out the result you want, you have only to place "extra hidam" any number of inconvenient acres. Mr. Donelly's handling of Shakespeare's text is hopelessly eclipsed by such a method as this. Before Mr. Pell's interpretation of *Domesday*, the mathematics of the Great Pyramid pale their ineffectual fires.

Thus is solved the problem which has baffled so many students. In vain have they pored over *Domesday Book*, struggling to discover by what means Mr. Pell evolves from its text information which it does not contain, and wondering how he knows in every case which of his many interpretations to select. If they take my advice, and start from, instead of working to, the virgate required, the whole method will be clear at once, and they will find that Mr. Pell's interpretations are based on arbitrary assumption alone. There is nothing in *Domesday* to support them. Surely, the student has a right to complain when the evidence of *Domesday* and the assumptions of its interpreter are so inextricably intertwined that every assertion has to be tested before we can accept it as fact.[2]

[1] See *C. A. S. C.*, pp. 100-101 ("Table I: Number of virgates in one hide").

[2] Take, for instance, the contents of Wilburton Manor, *temp. Domesday*, as set forth by Mr. Pell on the authority of *Domesday Book* and (the fuller version of the original returns contained in) the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (*C. A. S. C.*, vi, p. 22). There we read: "*Terra ad carucam* in the occupation of the *homines in opere*, 300 acres"; yet no "homines in opere" are mentioned in either record, nor anything corresponding to "300 acres". And when Mr. Pell tells us that "the whole *terra ad carucam* of the *homines*" was "equal to

The crowning evidence, however, is coming, and may be left to speak for itself. In this, his own manor of Wilburton, Mr. Pell tells us that the "tres hida et una virgata" of *Domesday Book* and the *Inq. El.* means "three hides *plus* one virgate of 24 acres" (p. 21), *i.e.*, "384 acres". Good! Now turn to p. 92, and we find him referring to this passage for full details, and then assuring us that "the lord's III hidæ et I virg. is really 3 (120 + 24), not 360 + 24. There are other cases like this in *Domesday Book*". That is to say, that, without even being aware that he is flatly contradicting himself, he first tells us that "tres hidæ et una virgata" means 360 + 24, and then that it does *not* mean 360 + 24, but 3 (120 + 24), *i.e.*, 360 + 72! See the result of tampering with the text of *Domesday Book*. You first claim the right to interpret a formula in either of two opposite ways, as may be most convenient to yourself, and you end by interpreting it, all unwittingly, in both!

Here is another example of Mr. Pell's unfortunate habit of jumping recklessly at erroneous conclusions. He appends to his Huntingdonshire tables this note:

"There are repeated entries in *Domesday Book* of the following kind: In dominio sunt (×) car. 'præterea predictas hidas', 'exceptis his hidis', 'extra hidas'. The meaning of such entries is disclosed by the *R*[*amsey*] *C*[*artulary*], for instance, at Slepe (*post*, No. 87). *R. C.*, at p. 282, speaking of the *dominium*, states, 'Coli possint sufficienter cum tribus carucis propriis et consuetudine carucarum villæ et duabus precariis carucis quæ consuetudo ad valentiam trium carucarum estimatur.' The meaning being evidently that, over and above the help derived from the tenants' hides or ploughs, the lord had three ploughs of his own."[1]

That is to say, that (to take an instance from Mr. Pell's own table), "VII hid' ad geldum. Terra X car'. Et in dominio terra II car' extra predictas hidas,"[2] means "evidently" that there were two ploughs in demesne "over and above [the help derived from] the tenants' hides [or ploughs]."

To this I reply:

(1) That there are *no such entries* in *Domesday* as Mr. Pell describes. They all say that there are so many plough *lands* (not *ploughs*), "præterea predictas hidas," etc.[3]

the work of four eight ox-ploughs, as stated in *Domesday Book*, taking 108 acres each", we have to distinguish between the "four ploughs" which *do* occur in *Domesday*, and the 108 acres which are Mr. Pell's alone.

[1] *C. A. S. C.*, No. xxvii, p. 103.

[2] Witune, *ibid.*, p. 143.

[3] "*Terra* II car[ucis]," *ut supra*,

(2) That these plough-lands were "over and above" the "*hides*" (not *ploughs*), which is very different.[1]

(3) That the meaning of these entries is "disclosed" in express words by *Domesday Book* itself, and is, of course, quite different from that which Mr. Pell gives.

The explanation given in *Domesday Book* is simplicity itself. We learn that, by a special arrangement, throughout the hundred of "Herstingestan", the demesnes paid no geld. All the assessed geld was paid by the hidated *Villenagium*.[2] This peculiar arrangement explains the peculiar formula so completely misunderstood by Mr. Pell. Throughout the hundred we find the demesne (non-hidated) sharply distinguished from the (hidated) *Villenagium*, and surveyed after it. I will here give the true rendering of the entries selected by Mr. Pell for his table[3]:

	Villenagium (hidated).		Dominium (non-hidated).		
Name.	Plough-lands.	Ploughs.	Hides.	Plough-lands.	Ploughs.
Bluntisham - -	8	3	$6\frac{1}{2}$	2	2
Hoctune - -	10	10	7	2	2
Witune - - -	10	8	7	2	2
Riptune - - -	16	12	10	2	2
Stivecle - - -	11	9	7	2	2
Slepe - - - -	24	$26\frac{1}{2}$	20	3	3
Upehude - -	16	14	10	3	2
Colne - - -	6	5	6	2	2
Haliewelle - -	9	7	9	2	2
Wistow - - -	16	11	9	3	2
Wardebusc - -	20	16	10	3	3

A glance at this table will show how appropriate is the language of *Domesday* in its surveys of these manors. Comparison with *Domesday* will show that my figures are taken straight from it without any charge of tampering. But, comparing it with the table given by Mr. Pell,[4] the two will be found hopelessly different, Mr. Pell having mangled the figures of *Domesday* beyond all recognition. His cardinal mistake in including the ungeldable and non-hidated *dominium* in the hide-assessment would alone

[1] Mr. Pell, *more suo*, calmly interpolates the words I have placed in square brackets, rendering "hidas" as "hides *or ploughs*"!

[2] "In Herstingest' Hundred sunt dominicæ car' quietæ de geldo regis. Villani et soch'i geldant secundum hidas in brevi scriptas" (1, 203).

[3] *C. A. S. C.*, vi, pp. 143-4.

[4] *C. A. S. C.*, vi, pp. 105-6.

deprive his calculations of all value.[1] There was, fortunately, one exception to the rule in this hundred, which gives us an independent test. *Domesday*, having recorded the rule (*ut supra*), proceeds: "Excepta Broctone, ubi geldat abbas cum aliis pro una hida" (204). Now Broughton is selected by Mr. Pell, unluckily for him, as a case for special investigation. He discusses it at considerable length, not only in his tables, but in the text.[2] He tells us confidently, in this case, that—

"The lord pays on the lord's land (4 hides), as we learn from *Domesday Book* that he had 4 car'. This leaves tenants' land, on which the gheld of five more hides was to be paid."

Now the passage quoted above from *Domesday* distinctly states that the lord paid not on *four* hides, but on *one* ("pro *una* hida"). The whole of Mr. Pell's elaborate calculations being based on his unsupported (and wholly erroneous, as it proves) assertion that the lord paid on *four* hides, they come here, as elsewhere, toppling to the ground.[3]

Another instructive instance must be set on record. When we are told, with such absolute confidence, that "the Norman king's officers" have done certain things, "have reduced" the area at "Chillelesla" or "reduced the [wholly imaginary and erroneous] terra of the car. of 108" at Wilburton; that in one place they "take off a third for fallow", in another "take off one-half for fallow", or that, in another, "off every virgate the king's officers take and place 'extra hidam' a sixth, *i.e.*, 4 acres, making the virgate 20 acres, of which there would be, of course, six in the geldable hide of 120"[4]—we must, I fear, for "the king's officers", read "Mr. Pell". For never a word has *Domesday* to say concerning these wonderful operations. Elsewhere, however, Mr. Pell detects the evidence that *Domesday* fails to afford:

"In some cases in MSS. the definite names of 'sexacra' and 'sexlond' was given to the sixth part. Thus, in the *Domesday* of St. Paul (Hale, p. 46) there will be found an entry," etc.[5]

[1] The odd thing is that Mr. Pell's own record, the *Ramsey Cartulary*, as quoted by him for "Wardebusc", distinctly confirms *Domesday*, saying: "In villa de Wardeboys sunt decem hydæ terræ præter dominium Abbatis."

[2] *C. A. S. C.*, vi, pp. 92, 103, *ante*, vol. i.

[3] The importance of such a case lies in the difficulty of applying any test to Mr. Pell's fanciful calculations. Here we can apply an independent test, and with significant result.

[4] *Domesday Studies*, i, 353-7.

[5] *C. A. S. C.*, p. 94.

Now at first sight, no doubt, on referring to this passage, such entries as "II sexacras pro IIII d. extra hidam", "I acram saxacram (*sic*) pro II d. extra hidam", appear to be quite in favour of Mr. Pell's theory. But what are the facts? Mr. Pell claims that "*a sixth part*" was thus placed "extra hidam"; yet in this, the only instance he can produce, the "sixth part" should be 192 acres, whereas the actual acres "extra hidam" are here only 6! In other words, we have in this passage the details of 8 hides, each with a recorded area of 120 acres; each, therefore, according to Mr. Pell, should have 24 acres ($\frac{1}{6}$ of 144) "extra hidam". Instead of which, one of them has 4 of such acres, another has 2, and the remaining six have none at all! Such is the evidence Mr. Pell produces, evidence which, he must himself have seen, in no way supports his case.

Nor is even this all. Hale, the editor of the record, corrects, in a note on this passage, the printed "sexacras", and writes—

"By an error of transcription 'sexacras' has been printed instead of 'seracras', and subsequently 'sexlond' instead of 'serlond'" (p. lxxvii).

The ground is thus cut from under Mr. Pell's feet. But does this dismay him? Not at all. He calmly informs us that

"Archdeacon Hale has yielded to the mistaken suggestion of a friend, and has confessed to an error of transcription where there has been no error at all."[1]

Now, in the first place, it is absolutely contrary to fact that Archdeacon Hale, in this reading, "yielded to the mistaken suggestion of a friend". The correction is his, and his alone.[2] In the second, what possible ground can Mr. Pell have for coolly asserting that an editor "has confessed to an error of transcription where there has been no error at all"? Does he profess to have even seen the MS.? He does not. He waives aside the editor's correction of his own reading on no other ground than that which is always sufficient for him—that it would be fatal to Mr. Pell's argument!

Here, then, we have a type of these arguments, to test which students are compelled to waste their time and labour. Mr. Pell's reference to "some cases in MSS." is reduced, on investigation, to a single MS., and to a single manor in that MS. Even in that solitary case the evidence is seen at once to be against, not for,

[1] *Domesday Studies*, i, 359.

[2] Being in doubt as to what "*ser*acres" might mean, Hale inserts, in a foot-note, an "illustrative conjecture" by a friend *as to the meaning of* "*ser*". The "friend" was not consulted as to *the reading*.

Mr. Pell ; while, lastly, the evidence itself is found to consist of a misprint, which Mr. Pell desperately, but in vain, endeavours to ignore.

The burden of my complaint is this. Mr. Pell leads us at every step to believe that he has absolute proof for his assertions when that proof consists of nothing but a solitary misprint or clerical error, which he tortures into evidence for his theory, or worse still, of sheer assumption. Really, this is not fair to other students of the subject.

As examples of misprints and clerical errors, let us take his assertion that his extraordinary thesis as to *Domesday* requiring, in certain counties, to be read topsy-turvey,[1] "is proved in another way, namely, by the discovery of cases in *Domesday Book* where the word *hida* is *in the same Survey*[2] used in more than one sense".[3] As "a case in point", we are referred to the Cornish manor of "Pavtone". Here I give the relevant passage from *Exon Domesday*, with the manor which immediately succeeds it in Mr. Pell's own list (Table III) as a parallel :—

"Pavtone.	"Liscarret.
"In ea sunt xliiii hidæ . . . Has possunt arare insimul lx carr. De his habet Episcopus in dominio i hidam et iii carr.; et villani habent xliii hidas* et xl carucas."	"Ibi sunt xii hidæ. Has possunt arare lx carr. De his habet comes, in dominio i hidam et iii car. ; et villani xi hidas et xiii car."

The system on which the entries are drawn up is self-evident. We have 44 hides = (1 + 43), and 12 hides = (1 + 11). But the copying scribe of the *Exon Domesday*, by the most natural of clerical errors, wrote "car[ucas]" instead of "hid[as]", where I have placed an asterisk.[4] As this made nonsense of the passage, he saw and corrected his mistake, and substituted the required "hidas". Mr. Pell, however, seizes on the slip as proof, "if not indicating an erasure" (which is precisely what it does), "that 'hid' and 'carr.' meant the same thing." And on this assumption he proceeds to build the most elaborate calculations. So, too, in his Surrey case ("Estreham"). Here he quotes *Domesday* as reading "tunc se defendit pro v hidis et modo similiter pro i hida et i virg' terra". Plausible as his explanation appears, it is based on a misquotation. What *Domesday* really reads is, "Tunc se defendebat pro

[1] See *ante*.

[2] The italics are Mr. Pell's own. [3] *C. A. S. C.*, p. 77 ; *D. S.*, i, 325.

[4] The same mistake is made on folio 205*b* of *Domesday Book*, where it is corrected in precisely the same manner.

v hidis et modo similiter." Over the word "similiter" an interlineator has inserted the words, "Pro una hida et 1 virgata terre." Mr. Pell has jumped at the conclusion that these words should be read as an addition, and as this would make nonsense of the passage, he boldly assumes that the first hide was not a hide, but a virgate.[1] Unfortunately for him, the manor which, in *Domesday Book* (34*b*), immediately precedes "Estreham" (but to which he makes no allusion), has a similar interlineation, which is completely destructive of his view, for it gives us "1 hida" over "similiter", as the assessment of an eleven-hide manor. It is thus established that these interlineations are not (as Mr. Pell wrongly assumes) additions to, but corrections of, the word "similiter".

In the third case[2] ("Chenebalton", in Huntingdonshire) we can establish with equal certainty that Mr. Pell's interpretation is wrong. In this district the formula for expressing the hidation of the demesne was this: "Ibi habet in dominio *x* car. in *y* hidis hujus terræ." There are seven cases of this on the "Chenebalton" folio (205*b*) alone. In the "Chenebalton" entry the scribe had omitted the "in *y* hidis", but, detecting his omission, had corrected it by interlineation. Mr. Pell here bases his calculations on an assessment of 10 hides for the tenants,[3] whereas their assessment, we learn from *Domesday*, was only 4 hides. Here, then, again, his explanation is simply inept.

I might thus dispose of case after case, and prove it to rest on nothing but assumption, assumption which, when it can be tested, is erroneous to demonstration. But I will content myself for the present with exposing a fundamental assumption which runs through the whole theory. Speaking of "the *Domesday* geldable hida or carucata", Mr. Pell writes:

"The *Domesday* geldable hide of 120 acres was the kernel of Fleta's carucate, which seems to have been composed of the sown land, linked with its twin brother the land *ad warectandum*, and if lying in common when fallow, then *extra hidam*. This sum total of land *ad geldum*, and land *extra hidam*, appears to have been in two shift manors, 240 or 288 acres, and in three-course manors, 180 or 216 acres."[4]

Now, whatever Fleta's carucate "appears to have been" to

[1] There is a case in Surrey which shows that an area which had been expressed T. R. E. in hides (meaning thereby virgates) is converted in *Domesday Book* into the uniform hide of 120 for taxational purposes (*C. A. S. C.*, p. 78).

[2] *C. A. S. C.*, p. 78.

[3] *C. A. S. C.*, p. 103.

[4] *Domesday Studies*, p. 349.

Mr. Pell, it *was*, as he elsewhere admits, 160 acres[1] in a two-course manor, *not* 240.[2]

But as his "kernel" of 120 acres cannot be adapted to an area of 160, he boldly invents (*ut supra*) an area of 240 (or 288) acres (for two-course manors), absolutely unknown to Fleta! Such is the origin of this mysterious area, Mr. Pell's authority for which it has baffled students to discover. Its inventor writes, that "our forefathers were more advanced than the modern crab-fishers of Cromer" when they evolved this "hide of wara" of 288 acres.[3] Mr. Pell is really too modest. He should not give "our forefathers" credit for an invention of which he is himself the sole patentee.

[1] *Domesday Studies*, pp. 187, 188, 323.
[2] I omit the *Anglico numero* reckoning in each case.
[3] *Domesday Studies*, p. 359.

J. H. Round.

NEW VIEWS ON THE KALEVALA.[1]

THIS youngest addition to the ranks of folk-lore periodicals is as yet but little known in England. It deserves, however, a wide circulation, if only for the fact that it chronicles the movement of folk-lore studies in lands extremely rich in tradition, and the languages of which are unintelligible to the vast majority of English students. The editor is one of the chief authorities on the mythic and traditional lore of the Wends and Lithuanians.[2] It is therefore not surprising to find that the folk-lore of these races, as well as of the Slavs generally, and of the Finns, receives the chief share of attention in the *Zeitschrift*. Folk-tales, local legends, notes of superstitions, reviews of books and periodicals, form the staple of this as of other similar journals, and it would, in an ordinary way, be sufficient to point out the importance of the *Zeitschrift* as the interpreter of Eastern and North-Eastern European folk-lore. Three articles, however, at least, deserve fuller notice, dealing as they do with problems to the elucidation of which the ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW is specially devoted. Two of these are by the Editor—on the Rubezahl legend, familiar to students of German literature through the graceful version of Musäus, and on the Aryan fire-myth as set forth in the Wieland saga. As a mythologist Dr. Veckenstedt occupies a position of his own, with decided leanings towards our anthropological school, with a decided distaste for the systematic extravagances of the "nature-myth" theorists, but with almost equal distrust of the large and loose generalisations of professed anthropologists, and with candid recognition of the importance of nature-myths in the religion of low-cultured races. He always endeavours to realise the totality of the social and mental conditions of a race, and to judge whether the interpretation of a myth accords with them or not. Thus, he holds that mankind

[1] *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.* Heransgegeben von Dr. Ed. Veckenstedt. Nos. 1-9. Leipzig: A. Dörffel.

[2] (1) *Die Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Zamaiten.* Heidelberg, 1883. (2) *Pumphut ein Kulturdämon der Deutschen, Wenden, Litauer und Zamaiten.* Leipzig, 1885. (3) *Sztukoris, der Till Eulenspiegel der Litauer und Zamaiten und Schut Fomka sein russisches Ebenbild.* Leipzig, 1884. (4) *Wendische Sagen, Märchen und abergläubische Gebräuche.* Graz, 1880.

must have obtained fire in the first instance from the striking of a flint, rather than from the friction of wood, and he is thus led to arrange the fire-myths in a different order of precedence, and to interpret them otherwise than Adalbert Kuhn in his well-known *Herabkunft des Feuers*. This article is not as yet finished—a discussion of the most celebrated of fire-myths, that of Prometheus, will appear in No. 10—and it is difficult to judge how far the case is made out. The most novel portion to the English reader will be the Lithuanian fire-myths; these are given at length, and can hardly fail to arouse a desire to know more of this rich and picturesque mythology.

Dr. Veckenstedt's exposition of the Rubezahl story affords less room for comment or dissent. These legends have come down to us in a debased and often artificial condition, and their correct interpretation must have been a matter of no small difficulty. Applying his knowledge of Slavonic folk-belief, Dr. Veckenstedt makes it almost certain that the tricksy and malicious lord of the Riesengebirge was originally a water-sprite. The numerous analogous stories quoted from Wendish and Lithuanian sources are of great interest.

The article, however, which deserves the most attention is one by the late distinguished Finnish scholar, Dr. K. Krohn, upon the composition and date of the Kalevala. It is, unfortunately, only the bare summary of a long argument based upon a multiplicity of detail-considerations which are not given. It would be evident from the article, if it were not matter of common repute, that the author has studied the Finnish folk-epic most exhaustively, and that his conclusions are entitled to the utmost respect. It is also evident that Dr. Krohn adopted, with regard to the nature and mode of diffusion and transmission of popular tradition, views to which there are strong objections on *a priori* grounds, and the evidence against which is, to many minds, overwhelming. Dr. Krohn found, in what may be called the borrowing-theory, support for his conclusions, and it is not surprising that in return he urges his conclusions in support of the borrowing-theory. According to him, the Kalevala does not embody the primitive mythic beliefs of the Finnish race, nor can it be used, save to a very slight extent, in any attempt to illustrate an early phase in the mythology of mankind. It consists to a very large extent of episodes which had originally no connection, whether epic or mythic, one with the other; these episodes are mainly borrowed from the god- and hero-sagas of the Scandinavians; the combination of episodes and groups of episodes into

a rounded and coherent narrative is of comparatively recent date, and is the work of families of folk-singers chiefly resident in the Archangel government, among a population which had in reality lost touch with the older and ruder separate lays, so that the reciters were able to give freer rein to their artistic spirit. Lönnrot may be regarded as the last and greatest of these folk-singers ; his unrivalled knowledge of Finnish folk-song enabled him to fill in transitional matter between the episode, and to weld the whole into one continuous narrative.

Dr. Krohn's conclusions may, it is seen, be classified under two heads—those relating to the manner in which the Kalevala has grown to its present shape, and those relating to its subject-matter. Assent to the one set of conclusions does not necessarily involve assent to the other. The first point could only be determined by an examination, as careful as Dr. Krohn's, of the immense mass of folk-variants of particular episodes, out of which the poem in its present shape has been picked and pieced together. Dr. Krohn notes that living reciters are still adapting the traditional lays to the tone of the present day—thus one reciter makes the dread goddess of the otherworld indulge in coffee. This is a feature of tradition which is familiar to all folk-lorists, especially when the material has been collected from a class which has been largely influenced by modern civilisation. To Dr. Krohn's sketch of the hypothetical growth of the poem it is not, however, easy to find a parallel. The closest is furnished by the Arthurian romance. We know, almost certainly, that it is the artificial welding together of a number of episodic lays originally disconnected with each other. But we also know that the authors of this process were the literary class of the day, and we cannot fail to recognise in the finished product all those signs which distinguish the outcome of conscious, freely working craftsmanship from that of tradition. Are we to look upon the professional reciters from whom Lönnrot took down the materials of the Finnish epic as so many Chrestiens de Troies ?

Celtic literature affords another parallel in the Fenian saga, but here the analogy makes against Dr. Krohn's theory. Such epic traces as the saga possesses are obviously the work of the Irish literary class at a particular period in the development of Irish letters, and have been entirely discarded by living tradition, which preserves the saga as a series of detached and often discordant episodes with the utmost tenacity. Nor is Macpherson's Ossian a parallel to the Kalevala of Dr. Krohn's theory—the one being a work of individual literary effort raised upon a scanty foundation

of genuine tradition, the other *ex hypothesi* a mosaic of actual tradition, in which the individual literary impulse is limited to the work of arranging and rounding off.

We might, as already said, accept Dr. Krohn's theoretical development of the traditions contained in our Kalevala, and yet join issue with him as to their authenticity. One instance will show how revolutionary is his criticism. The quest for the *Sampo* has always been looked upon as one of the most interesting and curious features of the poem. But, if we believe Dr. Krohn, there is no such thing as the *Sampo*. The story as we now have it is a fusion, probably a very late one, of a cosmogonic myth which may be old and pan-Ugrian, and of an episode imitated from the Scandinavian quern-myth. We can only criticise this theory on general grounds, as Dr. Krohn withholds the specific evidence upon which he bases it. But why, may it be asked, should the Finns be denied that faculty of myth-creation and myth-embodiment which we find possessed by well-nigh every human race? If they did possess that faculty, where are their myths? and why should it be assumed that such as are found among them are borrowed from their Scandinavian neighbours, simply because they are in part similar to those of the latter? Odin wins a magic drink in eagle-guise; Wainamoinen performs a somewhat similar feat; the one incident must be borrowed from the other, says Dr. Krohn. But, as all readers of Mr. Lang know, Yehl, the Thlinkeet deity, is in a like case with the Norse god and the Finnish half-god. Has there been borrowing here too? Did some companion of Leiv or Thorfinn find his way from Vineland[1] across the prairies and the Rockies and charm the Pacific coasters with tales of how Gaut's son beguiled Suttung's maid and won Suttung's mead? Prophesy is proverbially unsafe, or I should feel inclined to prophesy for Dr. Krohn's attack on the authenticity of Finnish tradition a failure as complete and memorable as that of Professor Bugge's onslaught upon Scandinavian mythology.

Dr. Krohn's pronounced adherence to the borrowing theory induces me to say a few words on the subject in reference to my article (*Arch. Rev.*, April 1889), and to that of Mr. Stuart-Glennie (*Arch. Rev.*, May 1889). We are told how the Finns got this or that idea from the Scandinavians, the latter from the

[1] Readers of the ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW may be glad to be referred to the recent monograph of Professor Gust. Storm, *Studies on the Vineland Voyages* (Copenhagen, Thiele, 1889), in which the Vineland of the Norseman is shown to be Nova Scotia.

Greeks, they from the Egyptians, and *they*—whence? From the *Arkhaian white race*, Mr. Stuart-Glennie would perhaps say. But did the latter *invent* the idea? Upon what does the tortoise stand?—I coined for this theory the epithet "revelationist"; the epithet has been cavilled at, but nothing has been suggested in its place. For, be it noted, the theory implies that somewhere, to some one particular gifted race, the mass of ideas which underlie and are the raw material of myth, was *revealed*. Otherwise, why the theory? If the *Arkhaian white*, or any other race could, by the exercise of its mental and emotional faculties, originate and develop a system of myth, why should this capacity be restricted to it alone? Bryant and Faber, and Mr. Casaubon, had at least warrant and a ground-work for their building—they postulated a divine revelation. But Mr. Stuart-Glennie and Herr Gruppe—what are they doing in this galley?

It may be worth while to briefly restate the opposing theory. Every human race has at one time passed, or is at present passing, through a definite stage of culture, the distinguishing features of which, on the mental side, are best described by the term animistic. It cannot be asserted that definite social conditions necessarily accompany this mental state, but, as a matter of fact, the two great institutions of matriarchalism and totemism are frequently found in combination with it. Hence, while the mythopoeic faculty, dependent as it is upon the animistic mental state, develops itself in the same way among all races which have passed through that stage of culture, the forms in which that faculty embodies itself, forms necessarily derived from the social condition of the race, also show great sameness, owing to the widespread prevalence of certain customs. A mythic protoplasm is thus obtained, common to all humanity, but worked up in its own way by each race, and the final outcome depends very much upon the stage of culture reached by the race when its mythology becomes fixed. That the mythic systems which thus come into being act and react upon each other, that less developed or gifted races borrow from those more highly gifted or developed—this is not denied, indeed, it is undeniable—and there will always be work for the historian in tracing the growth and determining the extent of such influences. It is, however, contended that the underlying similarity of all mythologies is not due to their being more or less changed copies of one original exemplar, but to their having originated in one special stratum of the mental and social development of mankind. Dr. Krohn's careful analysis has seemingly disproved this theory

in the case of the Kalevala; a yet more careful analysis may, nay, I believe will, have the contrary result. In the meantime, however, it will be well for those who are not familiar with Finnish, and hence cannot examine the evidence for themselves at first-hand, to refrain from using the Kalevala as if its age and authenticity were unquestioned.

ALFRED NUTT.

NOTES FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

No. 9.

Correspondence respecting New Guinea. May 1883.

THEY relate a curious circumstance in connection with the people of Kerepo. The male children have a hole pierced through the left hand in infancy, which is kept distended like those in the lobes of the ear until they arrive at manhood, and is then put to this extraordinary use: In fighting, their arrows are balanced through the hole in the left hand, from whence they are propelled with great force by a smart blow from the right hand. The bow is not used by them. We classed this story with the account of the men with tails, but the chiefs were quite amused at our incredulity, and assured us they themselves had seen these things.

Just before sundown we were sent for to see a procession of young men and maidens perambulate the village. About sixty took part in the ceremony, the men dressed in all the bravery of paradise feathers and necklets of pearl shell, the women wearing heavy necklaces of dogs' teeth, with pendants of the same reaching to their waists. The women walked backwards, beating small drums with a slow, monotonous chant, while the young men kept time with their feet and long white wands covered with streamers and hollow seeds. The party halted before certain houses and sang, and after reaching the end of the village broke up and dispersed. The greatest gravity characterised the proceedings.

The Boera people are friendly with the Roro tribe on the mainland, opposite Yule Island, who murdered Dr. James and Thorngren in 1876. They gave us a minute circumstantial account of the affair, which agrees in every particular with the evidence given me by the survivors on that occasion. We asked what led to the attack, and they told us the Chief wished to test whether all white men were invulnerable, as a short time before a white man had allowed them to hurl spears at him, which rebounded without doing him any injury. "Was he a spirit? Had he come from the clouds?" they asked. But no, he came from the sea, and their weapons were powerless against him. We set this down as some ancient tradition, but Captain Dudfield afterwards told us he had

seen a coat of mail in Signor D'Albertis' possession, and as that gentleman visited the Roro tribe, there may, after all, be some foundation for their story.

Thanks to Mr. Lawes, we are better acquainted with the legends of the Port Moresby district than those of any other portion of New Guinea, east of the 141st meridian. According to these, they are the conquering race, who are gradually displacing the cannibals on the coast. The Kerepunites, again, are a different race, and are said to resemble the people of Eastern Polynesia. Mr. Chalmers kindly translated for me the following legend, as told in Rarotongan by Peri's wife, who had heard it from the people of Boera. Ages ago Port Moresby produced fruit in abundance, but a quarrel arose, which resulted in the secession of one-half of the tribe, and from that time the sago-palm and cocoa-nut tree gradually died out. About this time fire, which was previously unknown, was brought to them by a dog. The people had noticed a brilliant light at night and thick smoke by day in a large canoe becalmed off their coast, and knew not what it was. In those days they lived on intimate terms with the birds and animals, and could converse with them. The turtle first volunteered to fetch news concerning this strange light, but failed in the attempt. The pigeon next tried, but fell exhausted into the sea while returning with a flaming brand. The dog then offered his services. He boarded the canoe, and saw water boiled and food cooked by this mysterious light. Watching his opportunity, he jumped overboard with a brand in his mouth, and swam ashore in safety with his prize. He taught the people how to use the fire and to cook their food; but they forgot, in time, the benefits conferred by the dog, and treated him with ingratitude, so he revenged himself by biting the people, and fomented the quarrel which led to the dispersion of the tribe. Those who remained at Port Moresby were reduced to the verge of starvation, but eventually their brethren, taking compassion upon them, taught them the art of making pottery, and sold sago to them in exchange for earthenware pots.

At daylight on July 30 I walked to Kerepunu, and went on board the *Sappho*, and Captain Digby and his officers being anxious to witness the festivities at Kalo, I returned with them in the steam cutter. It being low water, the sea was breaking heavily on the bar, so that it required considerable nerve to cross, especially as we did not know the depth of water, and a monster shark was cruising at the back of the first roller, as if on the look-out for a "fresh mess". Our landing created little excitement, as the people

seemed to have given themselves up to enjoyment, which not even this unheard-of influx of foreigners could disturb. While I was away ten pigs, each weighing about 3 cwt., were sacrificed with all due ceremony at the foot of the food scaffold, and a number of young women, in a state of absolute nudity, threw food to the people from a platform. It appears that at each annual feast the girls who have been tattooed since the last festival are required to perform this duty as evidence of the fact, and I am told that several seemed overcome with shame at the exposure. Mr. Chalmers tells me these people have a distinct idea and beautiful conception of a Supreme Being. To them the Great Spirit is a most beneficent being from whom naught but good is received, while the spirits of their ancestors are blamed for all evil that befalls them. A good yam season is the work of the Great Unknown—a drought is caused by malevolent ancestors. The whole proceedings at this festival seemed to have a religious significance, and it may be regarded as a thanksgiving for a bountiful harvest. The distribution of food went on all day to the people of three villages besides Kalo, namely, Papaka (inland from Hulu), Kamari, and Kerepunu. We estimated that there could not have been less that 30,000 cocoa-nuts and 500 bunches of bananas, besides yams and sugar-cane, on the scaffold poles. Dancing commenced about dusk, but as there were no fires and lights, and women principally took part in it, 'twas a very tame affair; accordingly we started a dance on our own account, and very soon had by far the largest share of spectators, one of whom, a very pretty lassie, deftly abstracted a red silk pocket-handkerchief from my belt.

No. 10.

Correspondence regarding Affairs of the Gold Coast.

Agravie is the town which, situate on the right bank of the Volta, marks the southern limit of the Volta district; here there is a mixed population of Awoonahs and Addahs, probably numbering from 2,000 to 3,000. The head chief and Fetish priest is named Gathrakpee; he has reigned as such since 1874.

The election of these chiefs is said to be by the selection of the Fetish. His jurisdiction extends to Sopey and Tefli, the latter being about four hours' distant by land; the plantation villages on this side of the river extend to the lagoon behind Addah, about

two or three hours' distant, but the greater number are on the left bank of the river.

The history of the King is a follows:—

His grandfather was King Namquae, who, besides daughters, had one son, Odinko, who succeeded him.

Odinko died three years ago, and was succeeded by the present King Otabbee, who was his nephew and third son of the eldest daughter of King Namquae.

The two elder brothers of Otabbee are still alive, but their characters not being considered satisfactory by the people, neither was allowed to succeed to the stool.

According to tradition, the first ruler was a woman "who came out of the sea".

* * * * * * * *

Rumour had reached me that King Coffee Kalkalli contemplated marching upon this town to regain possession of the vacant "stool". I did not believe in these reports, because he had been exiled, and by the customs of the Ashantis nobody who has been transported, as he was, can lawfully enter the town of Coomassie, for any purpose, until he has been permitted to re-enter by those in charge of the town for the purpose of drinking "fetische" with them, which ceremony of drinking constitutes forgiveness for past transgression.

The late King, Cobina Fuah, died about four years ago. His brother, the proper heir, being blind, was not allowed to succeed him, Cobin Fuah's sister's son, the present King, Ata Fuah (Ata means twin), was therefore placed on the stool. His twin brother is dead, but he has three other brothers living.

At one time, when Gaman and Ashanti were at war, a former Gaman King sent his royal stool and other valuable property to these people, to keep till they could be safely returned to Bontuku. By this move, though the Ashantis became masters of the country for a time, and compelled the Gaman King to pay a heavy yearly tribute of gold, they never brought the Gamans to complete subordination, since to do this it would, according to the custom of these people, have been necessary to hold the royal stool and other things emblematic of royalty, which would not only leave them the power of keeping the kingdom minus a crowned head, but would give them a much firmer influence over the masses, who regard the stool or throne upon which their former kings sat with a greater veneration than they do the heir to it.

Possessing themselves of, and retaining royal stools, has always been a favourite plan of the Ashantis. At the present moment

they claim several such stools, hoping, by obtaining possession of them, to induce the people to return to their (the Ashanti) rule.

The assemblage of the many great Chiefs to go through the formality of "shaking hands" with me, with their respective followers, was an imposing sight, and covered a large extent of ground. Some spectators, estimated at 2,000 in number, were looking on at the proceedings, and this seemed to be the population of Coomassie. There was but one thing wanted to render the gay scene more satisfactory, and that was the presence of the king on the "stool", his absence, coupled with the exhibition of the vacant royal "stool" lying on its side, instead of in its proper position, but in its right situation for such occasions, viz., on a very high raised dais, was melancholy, for it told its own tale. No conversations were exchanged.

There appears to be a conflict of opinion as to the succession to the "stool". The districts of Adukrum and Larti declare for, first the king's son and then the king's brother; the districts of Aburi and Amanakroom and Akropong say, first the king's sister's son and then the king's sister. It is probable that it is simply a matter of the election by the chiefs and people of some member of the Royal family.

The formalities connected with the custom of native marriage appear to be almost identical in the countries of Croboes and Aquapim, with the exception of making the "Otofu" custom, which is peculiar to, and almost indispensable in, Croboe.

As regards the succession to the stool, King Kofi Chintor told me that upon the decease of the king his next eldest brother succeeds him. Should he have no brother, then his nephew (by a sister) becomes king, even though the latter be a mere child. The king's son never succeeds him, as the king's wife may happen to be a woman of some other country, and consequently, if the present custom did not prevail, she, a foreigner, would obtain possession of the country in the event of her son (if he had been made king) dying, as the mother is the heir-at-law.

CORRESPONDENCE.

QUASI-TOTEMISTIC PERSONAL NAMES IN WALES.

The ancient Welsh personal names that refer to animals (and other non-human objects) are, whatever be the explanation of them, exceedingly interesting, and it seems worth while, in view of Mr. Gomme's recent articles on "Totemism in Britain", to bring some of these names together. In doing this I have been very much helped by the list contained in Professor J. E. Lloyd's article on "The Personal Name-System in Old Welsh", in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, part i. I have, in most cases, given preferably the modern forms of the names, or what would be the modern forms of them were they still preserved. I assume that the prefix "Cyn-" of the names quoted stands for "dog".

1. Bear. Arthgen (*Bear-born*). Arthflaidd (*Bear-wolf*).
2. Crow. Bran (*Crow*). Cynfran (*Dog-crow*). Llewfran (*Lion-crow*).
3. Cormorant. Morfran (*Cormorant*).
4. Dog. Gwrgi (*Man-dog*). Cynfarch (*Dog-horse*). Cynfran (*Dog-crow*). Maelgwn (*Hero-dog*). Hoywgi (*Sprightly-dog*). Cyngen (*Dog-born*).
5. Horse. Cynfarch (*Dog-horse*). Gwrfarch (*Man-horse*). Llewfarch (*Lion-horse*).
6. Iron. Haiarn-gen (*Iron-born*).
7. Jackdaw. Corfran (*Jackdaw*).
8. Lion. Llewfran (*Lion-crow*). Llewfarch (*Lion-horse*).
9. Sun. Sulgen (*Sun-born*).
10. Whelp. Gwrgeneu (*Man-whelp*). Morgeneu (*Sea-whelp*). Gwyngeneu (*White-whelp*).
11. Wolf. Arthflaidd (*Bear-wolf*).

Other names might be given, but these are well attested. A peculiarity in the case of some of them is the blending of two animal names to form a single personal name, as Cynfarch (*Dog-horse*) and Arthflaidd (*Bear-wolf*). A peculiarity of others is that they imply a non-human origin, as Arthgen (*Bear-born*), Sulgen (*Sun-born*). The lion, whose name enters into the composition of some of the personal names, is a non-British beast. These names are, I think, worthy of notice, even though the totemistic explanation of them should not be sustained.

Wrexham. Alfred Neobard Palmer.

ROOK OR RAVEN?

In the *Archæological Review* for March, Mr. Karl Blind says ("A Fresh Scottish Ashpitel", p. 29): "In this country the raven still holds his lofty place, as of yore, under the ruler of Asgard. Witness the hosts of these birds kept near English country mansions. Their croaking voice is by no means considered an evil sound, as it is in Germany," etc. Surely Mr. Blind does not mean us to suppose that the raven of fairy story is simply a rook? I, at least, have never seen "hosts" of ravens near English mansions or elsewhere, though I have occasionally seen one solitary raven, and once the pair, about our Cornish cliffs (where, however, they are getting rare, and it will soon be as much of an event to see one as to see the chough). I cannot think the friendly and sociable rook, rarely seen solitary even for a few moments, would ever have been hit upon as "bird of evil genius" by ancient or modern.

Isabella Barclay.

The Archaeological Review.

VOL. IV.] OCTOBER, 1889. [NO. 3.

THE ROMAN WALL:

A RECONSIDERATION OF ITS PROBLEMS.

II.

INSCRIBED SLABS.

WE now turn to the consideration of a series of inscriptions, which Dr. Bruce characterises as "the autograph statements of the builders of the wall"—"stony documents" from which "there can be no appeal", and whereof the "evidence is not circumstantial, but direct" (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 382; *Hist. Northumb.*, i, p. 49). Whether so much confidence in the evidence of the inscriptions in question is justified remains to be seen. "Nothing", it is said, "can be more conclusive than their testimony, except, indeed, the men who hewed the stones of the wall, and laid them in the places where we still observe them, were to rise from their graves and tell us with living lips whether they acted in obedience to the orders of Hadrian or Severus" (*Hist. Northumb.*, i, p. 49). After such assurances, what can we expect from these "very autographs of the builders of the wall, which, without the intervention of editors, or transcribers, or printers, have come down to our time", but explicit declarations, couched in most perspicuous Latin, that Hadrian was the veritable builder of the wall? If, however, we expect this, we shall be disappointed.

The first of the "stony documents" is the slab here engraved (fig. 1). Complete as it appears, and simple as the inscription seems, it is not without its difficulties. Hübner suggests that the final letter of HADRIANI is an addition. Minute points, such as this, are, however, of little moment in our inquiry, and I see no reason to question Dr. Bruce's extension of the inscription, which is as follows:

IMP(ERATORIS) CAES(ARIS) TRAIAN(I)
HADRIANI AVG(VSTI)
LEG(IO) II AVG(VSTA)
A(VLO) PLATORIO NEPOTE LEG(ATO) PR(O)PR(AETORE)

This slab was unquestionably inscribed in the time of Hadrian and of his legate, Aulus Platorius Nepos, but, *it says nothing about the murus.* Yet this slab, and the fragments of three others, all bearing parts of the same inscription, are regarded as the strongest

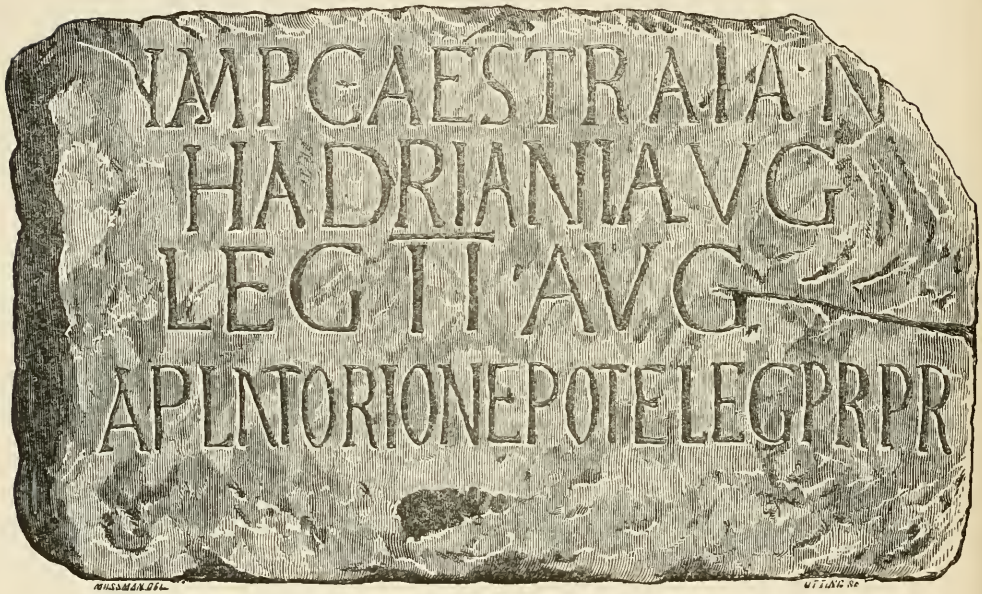


FIG. 1.

possible evidence—evidence from which "there can be no appeal" —that Hadrian was the builder of the wall.[1]

But before we can accept them as evidence of anything, we must ascertain where and in what positions they were found. An inscription can only be accepted as evidence of the date of a building when it is found where it is evident it was originally placed by the builders, and where it was intended to be placed.

[1] If the reader wishes for a translation of the above inscription, let him turn to the pages of Dr. Bruce. He will find slightly different renderings, but the translator's bias is evident in all. For instance, in one place, the following is his version : "The second Legion (styled) the August (erected this building in honour) of the Emperor Cæsar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Aulus Platorius Nepos, being Legate and Propræter." (*Catalogue of the Inscribed and Sculptured Stones of the Roman Period, etc.*, 1st ed., p. 26.)

Where, then, was this slab found? This is a question which has unfortunately been needlessly complicated by one or two recent writers. The Rev. John Wallis, an early historian of Northumberland, is the first author who mentions this inscription, and his testimony must be accepted in preference to recent speculation or conjecture. He says:

"In digging up the foundations of a castellum or milliary turret, in the wall, in an opening of the precipice by Crag Lake, called Lough-End-Crag, or Milking Gap, for stones for building a farm-house, belonging to William Lowes, of Newcastle, Esq., to the north-east of this station [Chesterholm], a centurial stone was found by the masons, very large, inscribed,

IMP CAES TRAIAN," etc.

(*Natural History and Antiquities of Northumberland*, 1769, ii, p. 26.)

About so minute and careful an account it would seem there could be no mistake. Milking Gap is perfectly well known. It is shown on one of the maps of the wall in Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732), where it is written *Milkinggap;* on Warburton's map in his *Vallum Romanum* (1753), where it is written *Milking Corp;* and on Armstrong's magnificent map of Northumberland (1769), where it is again written *Milkinggap.* The place called Milking Gap on these maps is now called Milking Gap, and there is not a particle of evidence that any other place in the same neighbourhood has ever borne that name. It is situated "*in an opening in the precipice by Crag Lake*". Its very *foundations* have been *dug up*, leaving a considerable ditch where they have been taken out. The neighbouring part of the murus has been treated in the same way, evidently for building purposes. A *farm-house, north-east* of Chesterholm, now known as Hot Bank Farm, and distant only about 70 yards from the mile-castle in question, was built about, or shortly after, the middle of last century, and was the property of William Lowes. It has since been modernized, and the evidence that mural stones were employed in its erection has been, partly at least, destroyed. There ought, however, to be no question that it was "in digging up the foundations" of this mile-castle at Milking Gap that this "autograph statement" was found. But so obvious a conclusion has been questioned. Mr. John Clayton, in a paper contributed to the fourth quarto volume of the *Archæologia Æliana*, says:

"It is *probable* . . . that the perfect inscribed stone in our collection [the one under discussion] was produced by the mile-castle in the Castle Nick. . . . The language of Wallis, on whose authority the statement is

made that the perfect stone came from the Milking Gap, is clearly applicable to the castellum in the Castle Nick, and not to the castellum in what is now called the Milking Gap. He says 'the stone was found in the castellum or milliary turret in the opening of the precipice by Crag Lake, called Lough End Crag, or Milking Gap.' If this *conjecture* be well founded," etc. (*Arch. Æl.*, 4to., iv, p. 273.)

I will not comment on the loose way in which Wallis is quoted. The allusion to "what is now called the Milking Gap" cannot, however, be overlooked. By implication the reader is led to think either that some other place was formerly called Milking Gap, or that Milking Gap itself was formerly called something else. What is now called Milking Gap has borne that name at least from the time of Horsley; and, though I have sought diligently, I have failed to find the slightest evidence that any other place in that district ever bore that name. But the assumed source of the perfect inscription, put forward by Mr. Clayton as a probability and a conjecture, has since been accepted as an ascertained certainty (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., pp. 16, 226; *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, n. 199). Against Mr. Clayton's conjecture there are, however, unanswerable objections. The Castle-Nick mile-castle, to which he wishes to move the source of the slab we are discussing, is the next one west from that at Milking Gap, from which it is distant $6\frac{3}{4}$ furlongs. It is not situated in "*an opening in the precipice*" at all, as anyone may see who will turn to the excellent lithographed view of it in the third edition of *The Roman Wall* (p. 226). The site of the castellum at Castle-Nick could never, as Mr. Clayton would have us believe, have been called Milking *Gap*, since it is not a *gap* at all. *Its foundations have never been dug up*, but, on the contrary, its walls are as well preserved as those of any mile-castle along the whole line of the murus. There is not, and, so far as we know, never has been, a farm-house within nearly half-a-mile of Castle-Nick mile-castle. Had there been a farm-house near it, instead of being, as Wallis says it was, *north-east* from Chesterholm, it must have been *north-west*. Taking all these facts into consideration, it would be culpable not to set Mr. Clayton's conjecture aside. We *must* accept Wallis's clear and precise statement that the stone was found in digging up the foundations of the castellum at Milking Gap. Hodgson, indeed, accepts the statement that the slab was found in the foundations, and, after mentioning another inscription to Hadrian, "which was found in the foundations of a building with its face downwards" at Moresby on the Cumberland coast, expresses his belief "that both it and the one found in a

similar position at the castellum in the murus near the foot of Craig Lough, ... were deposited as stones of memorial that the buildings reared above them were built in the time of Hadrian" (*Hist. Northumb.*, ii, iii, pp. 311-12). Hodgson's theory is an almost charmingly simple one, but in no way calls for serious discussion. The author of *The Roman Wall* is more plausible. Referring to a fragment of an identical inscription found in another mile-castle, he says:

"The mile-castle, as originally constructed, had borne over its principal entrance the name of the emperor by whose command it had been reared, the legate who had seen his orders executed, and the legion on whom the task chiefly devolved." (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 204.)

Elsewhere Dr. Bruce assumes that "the probability is that similar inscriptions have been attached to all the mile-castles along the wall" (*Handbook*, p. 252). Be this as it may, it is certainly fair to ask how the Milking Gap inscription succeeded in getting from its original position, over the principal entrance, to its later position in the foundations. We have, it is true, various statements about restorations of the mile-castles, when new floors at higher levels were introduced; but Dr. Bruce has never gone the length of saying that at these times the very walls were taken down to their foundations and rebuilt. The declaration that "the mile-castle, as originally constructed, had borne over the principal entrance the name of the emperor by whose command it had been reared", etc., must be, with all respect to the writer, considered as one of the flights of a vivid imagination; and "the probability" that "similar inscriptions have been attached to all the mile-castles along the wall" must be regarded as a very remote probability indeed. It is clear, from all the evidence attainable, that the Milking Gap inscription was placed in the foundations of the mile-castle when that structure was originally built. As an inscription addressed to Hadrian would certainly never be treated with such indignity during his life, it is clear that the Milking Gap mile-castle was not erected in his reign. And as the mile-castles are certainly contemporary with the portions of the wall to which they adjoin, it follows that this "autograph statement" is evidence from which "there can be no appeal" that one part, at least, of the murus was not built till after the time of Hadrian.

The duplicates of the slab just discussed, all more or less imperfect, need only be referred to briefly. The next one to be noticed exists in two pieces, one of which is preserved in the

library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and the other in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. Both are here engraved (figs. 2 and 3). The left-hand portion is one amongst

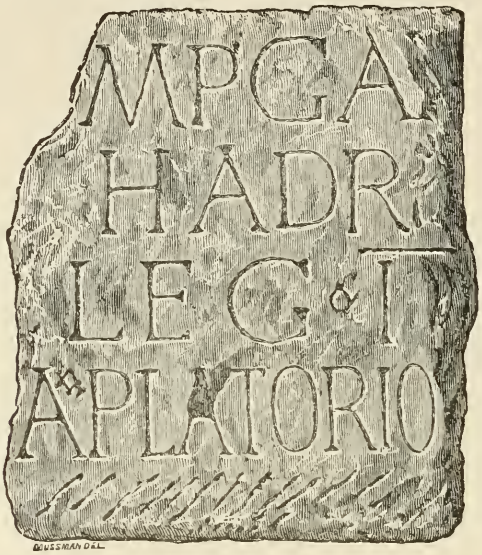


FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

a number of stones collected in or about the year 1715 in the mural district by John Warburton, the author of *Vallum Romanum*.

No record is known stating where this stone was found. The right-hand portion was discovered in or about the year 1831, "built up in the south wall of the farm-house at Bradley", a homestead about four hundred yards from the Milking Gap mile-castle and about seventy yards from the vallum. Mr. Clayton, in the paper previously referred to, says: "It is *probable* the inscribed stone partly sent to Durham and partly built up in the Bradley farm-house, was produced by the mile-castle at the Milking Gap" (*Arch. Æl.*, iv, p. 273). Mr. Clayton's probability has again since been treated as an ascertained certainty (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 208; *Lap. Sep.*, n. 200). It must, however, be confessed that there is no particle of evidence to show that either of these fragments has been derived from any mile-castle at all. Another of the "stony-documents" thus fails to furnish any reason for believing that Hadrian was the builder of the murus.

Two fragments of slabs, bearing identical inscriptions, have, however, been discovered in mile-castles. The first of these (fig. 4)

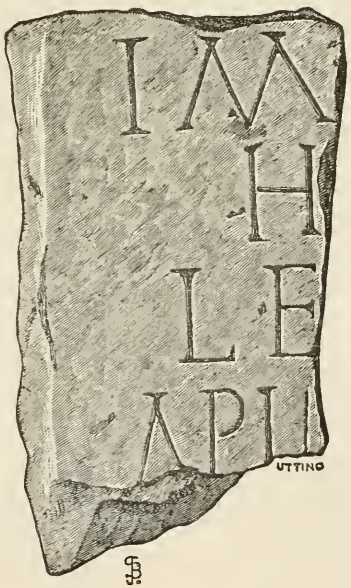


FIG. 4.

was found in 1847, "amongst the *débris* in the interior of the mile-castle" at Cawfields, during excavations conducted there by Mr. John Clayton. Its fragmentary character, and the circumstances under which it was found, relieve us from the necessity of discussing its value as evidence as to the authorship of the murus.

The second fragment (fig. 5) was found in 1853, in the mile-castle immediately west of Housesteads, during excavations also conducted by Mr. Clayton. It was discovered "amongst the stones" of the "upper floor", and, when found, was "much worn". It was clearly used as flooring material during some repair of the castle, but as to its original position, we have no evidence.

Before leaving this inscription and its duplicates, there is one last example which must not be overlooked. It was found at



FIG. 5.

Vindolana (Chesterholm), though at what date I have been unable to ascertain. The only letters it bears are

ES TRAIA
RIANO
G II

If it can be said to differ from any example of this inscription already noticed, it is only from the first, and from that it differs merely in having the emperor's name in the dative instead of in the genitive case. But this stone is exceedingly important. The advocates of the Hadrianic theory draw no inference from it. One important inference, however, is obvious. If the copies of this inscription found in the mile-castles of the wall are evidence that those castles were built by Hadrian, then this copy found at Chesterholm is evidence that that station also was built by him. But Chesterholm, which is south of both the murus and the vallum, and more than half-a-mile distant from the latter, is one of the stations which Dr. Bruce ascribes to Agricola.

Besides these, two other inscriptions mentioning Hadrian have been found along the line of the wall. One of these is a fragment

(fig. 6), derived from the ruins of the almost obliterated mile-castle at Chapel Hill, west of Carvoran, and now preserved in the Museum



FIG. 6.

of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. The following is Dr. Bruce's extension of as much as can be read :

NERVAE (NEPOTI)
(TRAI)ANO HADRIA(NO)
AVG(VSTO)
LEG(IO) XX VAL(ERIA VICTRIX)

The other (fig. 7) was found at Æsica before the year 1821. Hübner's extension of it is :

IMP(ERATORE) CAES(ARE) TRAI(A)N(O) HADRIA
NO AVG(VSTO) P(ATRE) P(ATRIAE)



FIG. 7.

Aulus Platorius Nepos is mentioned in a very fragmentary and broken inscription (fig. 8) found at Procolitia (Carrawburgh) in 1838. Dr. Bruce extends as much as is legible as follows :

COH. I. AQVIT(ANORVM)
FECIT
(AVLO PLATOR)IO NEPOTE

The above are the whole of the "stony documents" found on the line of the wall which are regarded as furnishing unimpeachable evidence that Hadrian was the builder of the murus. Dr. Bruce does indeed mention an altar found at Magna (Carvoran), erected between A.D. 136 and 138, for the safety of Lucius Ælius Cæsar, an adopted son of Hadrian, and another at Walton House, dedicated "to the discipline of the August", but neither of these has the slightest bearing on the question at issue. The discovery in a station of a complimentary inscription addressed to Hadrian, even if we grant that it belongs to the place where it was found, proves nothing more than that the occupants of that camp were disposed

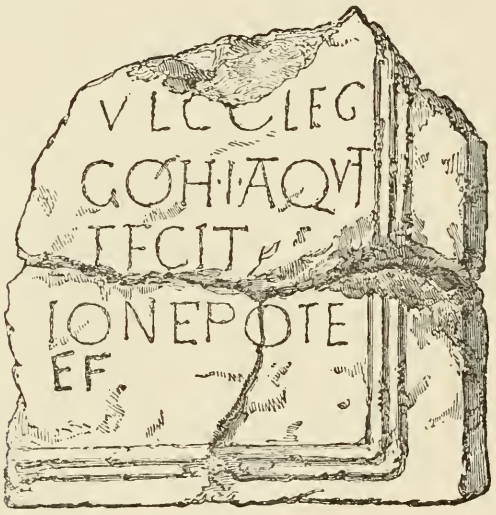


FIG. 8.

to flatter their emperor. The one "autograph statement" which is of real value as evidence is the slab found about the time of Wallis in the foundations of the mile-castle at Milking Gap. There it had clearly been used as building material, just as a slab which mentions Severus was used in the construction of St. Wilfrid's crypt at Hexham, and just as a slab which mentions Hadrian was employed in the erection of the Saxon Church at Jarrow. It is just as logical to argue that the presence of these slabs at Hexham and Jarrow prove that the crypt at the former place was built by Severus, and the church at the latter by Hadrian, as it is to contend that the slab found at Milking Gap is any evidence that Hadrian built the murus. As the Milking Gap slab had been used as building material when the mile-castle was

originally erected, it is only fair to believe that the very fragmentary stones found in the Housesteads, Cawfields, and Chapel Hill mile-castles had been used in the same way. If it be asked why such slabs should be found in the mile-castles rather than in the stations, the answer is obvious. The stations were built before the vallum, and the mile-castles after it.

I have no hesitation in saying that I believe the slabs addressed to Hadrian and found in the mile-castles, as well as many other inscribed and sculptured stones found in the murus and its appendages, have been removed from the vallum. The Antonine Wall, not merely in its stations, but on the barrier itself, has yielded many inscriptions. Our vallum has not, within recorded times, yielded one. Are we to assume that it never bore any? Is it not far more reasonable to believe that when its later neighbour, the murus, was built, it was denuded of every stone which could be turned to the builder's purpose? Dr. Bruce is aware of the suggestion that the Hadrianic slabs of the mile-castles have been brought from the vallum, and refers triumphantly to the fact that they have all been found "upon a part of the line which is further removed from the vallum than any other" (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 383). But even here the distance between the wall and the vallum, not half-a-mile, is much less than that from which much of the stone to build the murus has been brought. It is no part of my task to speculate. I may, however, remind the reader that much of both ends of the murus, with its stations, castles, and turrets, had been destroyed long before the attention of antiquaries had been directed to the wall. Even the central portions have been very slightly explored. There are many mile-castles and some stations, east and west of those which Mr. Clayton has excavated, which yet remain to be examined. If these mile-castles were treated as Mr. Clayton did those of Housesteads, Castle Nick, and Cawfields, other small fragments of Hadrianic inscriptions might possibly be found; but, I confess, much as I should regret such destruction, I could only hope for such discoveries as that of Milking Gap, if the very foundations were being dug up.

Before quitting this part of our subject, I must make one observation on the inscribed slabs found along the Antonine Wall. A very large proportion of them are practically perfect. This suggests that they have been found in their original positions. The reverse is the case with the inscribed slabs found along the line of our murus. The great majority of them are mere fragments. This suggests that they have not been found in their original

positions, but have been purposely broken, many of them at least, to fit them for the builder's purpose. The Warburton-Bradley slab has evidently been broken by a builder.

Quarry Inscriptions.

It is often considered a singular fact that the wall has not yielded a single inscription which mentions Severus in any way. An adequate reason for this will be suggested by-and-by. The mural district, however, is not without evidence that building operations of an extensive character were going forward in it during the years which Severus is known to have spent in Britain. Several ancient quarries, which it is known were worked for the stone of which the murus was built, yet retain Roman inscriptions ; and of all these, about ten in number, the only ones which can be dated belong to the time of Severus's sojourn in this island.

The first and most important of the inscriptions to which I refer is the famed " Written Rock of Gelt". It is cut on the face of a cliff, at a height of about twenty-five feet, and almost directly over the bed of the stream, in one of the most romantic and beautiful parts of a well-wooded ravine, through which flows the river Gelt. It is distant about three miles from the nearest part of the Roman wall. It is easily found, especially if the guidance of one of the natives of the district, amongst whom it is well known, be secured ; but it cannot readily or safely be examined minutely, since the visitor, to reach it, must walk along a very narrow ledge of rock, which scarcely affords foot-hold, and from which the slightest slip would precipitate him into the stream below. Most persons, having found the rock, will do well to wade across the stream, and content themselves with the view which, with the aid of a pair of field-glasses, they will get from the opposite bank. I have examined the inscription carefully, and can bear testimony to the general fidelity of the engraving in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, here reproduced. The inscription may be taken in three sections. The first, or left-hand portion, Hübner expands as follows :

VEX(ILLATIO) LEG(IONIS) II AVG(VSTAE) OF(FICINA APR(ILIS)
SVB AGRICOLA OPTIONE

Here we at least get the name of the master of a quarry, in which a vexillation of the second legion was employed, under Agricola, an assistant. The middle and most important part is easily read :

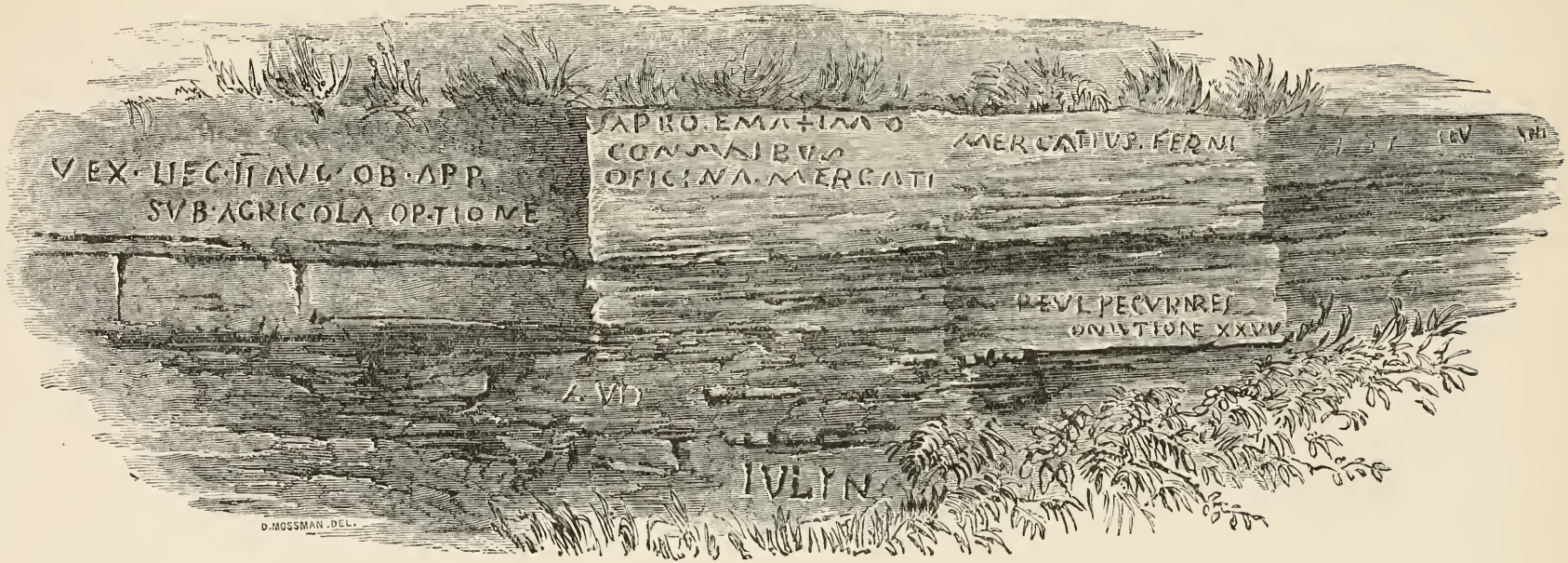


FIG. 8.—THE WRITTEN ROCK OF GELT.

APRO ET MAXIMO
CONSVLIBVS
OF(F)ICINA MERCATI

The first two lines date the whole inscription. Aper and Maximus were consuls in A.D. 207. Between the above two parts of the inscription the rock comes out to an obtuse angle. To the right of this we have evidently the quarry of Mercatius. The letters beneath, IVLI N, Dr. Bruce thinks mean IVLII NVMERVS—a rather questionable extension. Hübner's reading of the right-hand portion is,

MERCATIVS FIRMI
ↃⅠ(*i.e.*, centuria) IVLI PECVLIAR(I)S
(VEXI)LLATIONE XX V(ALERIENSIVM) V(ICTRICENSIVM)

The Mercatius of the first line is undoubtedly the quarry-master mentioned in the middle part of the inscription. Here the century of Julius Peculiaris was employed. The last line is mysterious, but it may safely be regarded as connecting the quarry-workers with the twentieth legion. Various questions might be raised as to the precise meaning of some parts of the inscription, but in reference to the portions essential to our purpose there is, fortunately, no difference of opinion. The principal facts to be noted are that the word *officina* is twice used to denote a quarry, that the whole inscription belongs to the consulate of Aper and Maximus, and that vexillations of the second and twentieth legions were at that time employed here. During that consulate, as we shall afterwards see good reason to believe, Severus arrived in Britain, and, in all probability, the erection of the murus was commenced.

Much has been written about this Gelt inscription, and various and conflicting inferences have been drawn from it. In the early part of the first edition of *The Roman Wall* (pp. 81-2), the Gelt quarry is mentioned as one of the sources whence the stones of the murus were derived ; though near the end of the same volume the writer says, " It is very questionable whether much of the stone from it was used in the building of the wall", and asserts his belief that the quarry " has probably been wrought for some ordinary purpose, perhaps for the erection of some buildings in the station near Brampton, at the period in question" (pp. 385-6). It is not easy to understand such conflicting statements. The year following the publication of this first edition, Mr. Robert Bell, of Irthington, issued a thin quarto tract under the title, *The Roman Wall: an attempt to substantiate the claims of Severus to the authorship of the*

Roman Wall. Therein he introduces an engraving of the Written Rock of Gelt, and says, "The above copies of the Gelt rock inscription are sufficient to prove that this quarry had been worked in the consulate of Aper and Maximus, by a company of the second legion, and consequently in the reign of the emperor Severus." Near the end of his pamphlet, Mr. Bell says: "That Gelt quarry has been worked very extensively by the second legion, in the consulate of Aper and Maximus, is proved by the 'gaping inscription' of Camden." To Mr. Bell, Dr. Bruce replied indirectly in the second edition of his *Roman Wall*, and directly in a pamphlet entitled *Hadrian, the Builder of the Roman Wall.* In the first of these replies discredit is attempted to be thrown upon the Gelt inscription by the assertion that it is "of rude workmanship, and has evidently been cut at the mere fancy of the person who did it, and so can teach us nothing with certainty, beyond the fact that a detachment of the *second* legion was in this part of the country during some portion of the consulship of Aper and Maximus." What then shall we say of the vexillation of the *twentieth* legion, and what of the *officinæ* of Mercatius and Aprilis? The workmanship which Dr. Bruce calls rude others might call excellent. But Dr. Bruce proceeds to say:

"Granting that a large quantity of stone has been taken from the banks of the Gelt by the Romans, during some period of their sojourn in Britain, does not this inscription—so far as its testimony goes—prove that it was removed prior to the year 207? Men do not inscribe their names upon a newly opened quarry (?). If a body of troops were, the year before Severus landed in Britain (?), ordered to quarry stones, in anticipation of the emperor's desire to build a wall, they would not have commenced operations (for at this period they could have done little more) by carving the inscription, which we are considering, on the face of the cliff (?). The next day's labour would have removed it (?). This inscription, therefore, so far as it proves anything, with reference to the working of the Gelt quarry, established the fact of its having been abandoned at least one year (?) before the landing of Severus in Britain, and therefore is inimical to the view that he built the wall" (p. 363).

It is painful to me to feel compelled to say that this paragraph is remarkable for the number of its assertions which are neither proved nor capable of proof. Where is the evidence that men never did inscribe their names upon a newly opened quarry? Where is the evidence that a body of troops would not have commenced their quarrying operations by carving such an inscription as this? Where is the evidence that the next day's labour would

have removed it? Where is the evidence that this inscription "*establishes the fact*" of the quarry having been abandoned "*at least one year*" before the landing of Severus in Britain? To all these calls for evidence one answer must be given: *There is none.*

But the second reply to Mr. Bell is of different character. Therein Dr. Bruce says:

"Because a vexillation of that [the second] legion carved some lines upon the face of a quarry on the Gelt, we are not necessarily to infer that they were engaged in *extensive* quarrying operations there. It is possible that they may have been occupied in procuring stone from the spot; but it is *just as likely* that they were in the locality for some ordinary purpose, and that they carved the name of their vexillation, with the date of the transaction, on the face of what *might then be* an old quarry, with the very same view as, in after times, F. Graham, W. Hardcastle, T. Thompson, W. Nelson, and some others, have inscribed their un-Roman-like names on the same rock. *It is true that some parts of the Roman inscription are not easily accessible, but we cannot tell what accumulations of earth and rubbish the river which washes the base of the cliff may not have removed since the days of Severus.*" (*Hadrian the Builder, etc.*, p. 5.)

So this inscription, nearly five yards in length, carved in an almost inaccessible position, "is just as likely" to have been the mere freak of a few strolling Roman soldiers as anything else. But again I would ask, what shall we say of the *officinæ* of Aprilis and Mercatius? Dr. Bruce provides a scaffolding of *earth and rubbish* for the Roman soldiers whilst thus amusing themselves, which he imagines the river may since have washed away. But the geologist would tell us that the soldiers must either have put up an artificial scaffolding of their own, or must have stood upon a bed of solid rock at least twenty yards in depth down to the present river-bed. "Earth and rubbish" would not resist the flow of the Gelt, always rapid and often flooded, for a single week. Dr. Bruce tells us that "the fact of such an inscription appearing on the face of this quarry furnishes incontestable evidence that it has not been wrought subsequent to the year 207" (*Hadrian, etc.*, p. 14). But evidently the rock on which the carvers of the inscription stood has since been quarried away. The Gelt quarries have been worked at intervals, very extensively, within living memory. About half-a-mile from the Written Rock we have, in the same ravine, and only a few feet above the stream, another Roman inscription, which Professor Hübner is disposed to ascribe to the consulate of Sabinus and Anullinus in A.D. 216. The Gelt quarries would yet yield enough stone to rebuild the whole Roman Wall from Wallsend to Bowness,

and even then there would not be the slightest necessity to touch the Written Rock.

But Dr. Bruce is eager to rob the Gelt quarry of the credit of having supplied stone for the murus. He tells us of information he received from certain farmers—not, one would think, the very best authorities on such a subject—who told him of "some old quarries called the Breaks quarries, about a mile-and-a-quarter north of the wall, from which it is supposed [some of] the stones of the Roman Wall were taken. These quarries have, at all events, been extensively worked in ancient times" (*Hadrian*, p. 11). In another place he says: "The Written Rock is upwards of four miles from the wall on the south [really, about three miles]; the Breaks quarries, which yield excellent stone, and which exhibit extensive marks of ancient workings, are not more than a mile and a half from it on its north side. The opinion prevails in the neighbourhood that the chief supplies for the wall were derived from the Breaks quarries" (*Roman Wall*, 2nd ed., p. 364).

There is, however, not a particle of evidence that the Breaks quarries were worked or known till a very recent period. A century ago their very site was a level tract of moorland. The testimony of Mr. Bell must not be overlooked. He says: "All the stone-masons in the neighbourhood [very much better authorities on this point than farmers] agree in opinion that the great bulk of the stone of which the wall is constructed, is Gelt stone." I have questioned intelligent quarrymen who have been employed all their lives in the neigbourhood, and have found that they hold the same opinion.

The Gelt inscription is scarcely mentioned in the third edition of *The Roman Wall*. In the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, however, we have a brief account of it, of which the following is the concluding paragraph:

"From the central part of the inscription we fortunately acquire a date. Aper and Maximus were consuls in A.D. 207; this was the year before the Emperor Severus came to Britain. So far as the testimony of this inscription goes, it is adverse to the view that Severus built the wall, for it shows that the quarry was abandoned just at the time when the demand for stone was likely to be the greatest" (p. 234).

The writer of *The Roman Wall* almost invariably assumes that Severus arrived in Britain in A.D. 208. In doing so, he accepts the date ordinarily given, which, however, there is good reason to consider erroneous. It is known that Severus died at York on the 14th February, A.D. 211. Now Xiphiline, in his abridgment of

Dion Cassius, says: "And so he [Severus], as was declared by the foretellers, did not return [from his expedition into Britain], but died the third year after (Καὶ διὰ τοῦ θ', ὡς οἱ μάντεις ἀπεφήναντο, οὐκ ἐπανῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τοῦτο μετήλλαξε)." This passage is the authority for the date usually fixed for the arrival of Severus in Britain. It is sometimes rather loosely translated. Dr. Bruce renders it: "He returned not from the British expedition, but died there (*sic*), three years after he undertook it" (*Roman Wall*, 3rd. ed., p. 25). But "three years" is not equivalent to "the third year". Surely no one would regard the phrase, "the third year," as an exact measurement of time. Xiphiline's language is, in fact, that which we should expect to be used had the arrival of Severus in Britain taken place at any period between three and four years before his death. Certainly that language affords no support to the opinion that Severus arrived exactly three years before the time of his death. This would have necessitated his spending the severest months of the winter on his journey. Horsley's opinion was, that "Severus came to Britain in the beginning of the year 207 at latest, and that having prepared all things for the war, in this year, and 208, he marched to the north, beat the Caledonians, and built the wall" (*Brit. Rom*, p. 62). From Xiphiline we learn that Severus spent at least a summer and a winter in North Scotland, and that after his return to York he prepared for a second expedition into the same country. Then Herodian speaks of the long continuance of Severus's last illness at York, and says that it was tedious and vexatious to Caracalla "that his father for so long a time should thus linger and make but slow advances towards death". All this, I think, gives us the impression that Severus was in Britain a longer time than from the spring of 208 to the beginning of February 211.

But we are not without other evidence that Severus arrived in this island earlier than is generally supposed. Cassiodorus ascribes his expedition to Britain to the consulate of Aper and Maximus. In Britain, as we shall presently see, the consulate of Aper and Maximus would extend considerably into the year 208, but in the calculations of a Roman historian it would terminate at the end of 207. This, however, is not all. In Jerome's translation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, Severus's British expedition is ascribed to the fourteenth year of his reign. Now, Severus assumed the purple on the first day of June, A.D. 193. The fourteenth year of his reign would therefore terminate at the end of May 207. Lastly, an inscription, discovered in 1844 at Habitancum, a Roman

station on the Watling Street, about 12½ miles north of the wall, and addressed to Severus and his sons, records the restoration of the walls and gate of that station. When this inscription was carved Severus was undoubtedly in Britain. It mentions Caracalla as having been consul for the second time. Now, Caracalla was consul for the third time in 208, and this slab was consequently inscribed before the news of his election had reached Habitancum. All these things afford very strong ground for believing that the arrival of Severus in Britain must be fixed in 207, and most probably between February and June of that year.

There is another fact relating to the Gelt inscription which must not be overlooked. Although, in the reign of Severus, the Roman consuls were appointed at the beginning of January in each year, yet in distant colonies the consuls of one year must have been considered as still in office until the news of the election of their successors had arrived. Unfortunately, we have no evidence to show how long it took for news to travel from Rome to Britain in those days. It must, however, have occupied some months. Although, therefore, Aper and Maximus were consuls in 207, and ceased to hold office at Rome at the end of that year, yet an inscription written in North Britain far into the year 208 would still name them as consuls, simply because the names of their successors had not yet reached that district. Thus, it is quite possible, nay, it is exceedingly probable, that Severus, landing in Britain in the early summer of 207, had been here a whole year before, so far as "the mural region" was concerned, the consulate of Aper and Maximus came to an end.

Once more we must turn to the pages of Dr. Bruce. He is exceedingly anxious to exclude Severus from any share in the construction of the wall.

"What time", he inquires, "had Severus for building the wall, and what troops could he spare for effecting so great an undertaking? A perusal of Herodian's account of his war against the Caledonians leaves the impression upon the mind that it occupied the whole of the time between his arrival in Britain and his death. [Yet Herodian mentions the "long time" during which he was ill at York.] If he did not construct the wall on his return from his Scottish expedition, when did he do it? Not, surely, when he set out. The erection of a barrier line a hundred miles to the south of the wall of Antonine would, in such circumstances, have seemed an enormous waste of time and power. Not certainly during the continuance of the struggle. He was evidently engaged in a desperate venture, and had neither time nor disposable force

for the construction of an extensive work like the Roman wall." (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., pp. 379-80.)

Yet Xiphiline represents Severus as having time during his Scottish campaign to most carefully examine the parallax of the sun, and the length of the days and nights both in summer and winter. He also says that his troops, in traversing the country, "underwent indescribable labour in cutting down woods, levelling hills, making marshes passable, and constructing bridges over rivers." During this expedition, according to the same authority, Severus lost 50,000 men; yet he returned triumphant. The imperial coinage of Rome records his victory. Losing 50,000 men, and yet conquering, what must have been the whole number of his army? Certainly, to leave one, two, or three thousand behind to

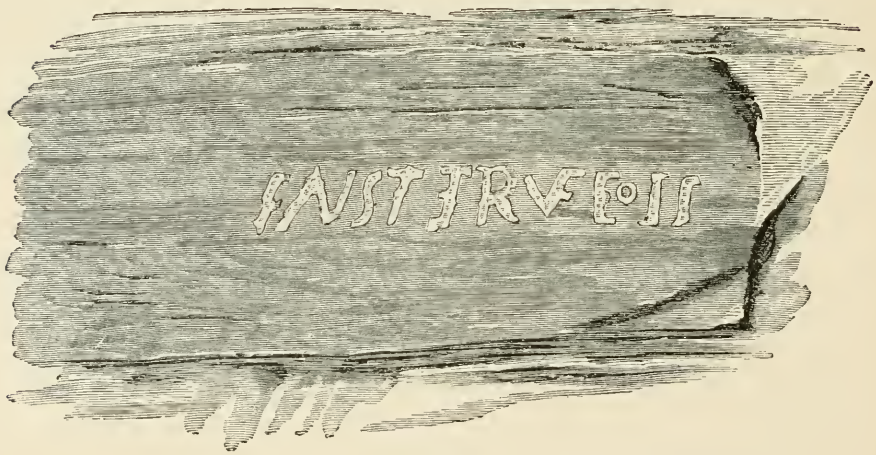


FIG. 9.

proceed with the erection of the murus could be but a trifling diminution of his forces.

The second quarry inscription, which certainly belongs to the sojourn of Severus in Britain, needs much briefer discussion. It is one of a series of inscriptions carved on the face of a rock which overlooks the vale of the Irthing in one of its most charming parts. The rock is known as Combe Crag, and is distant about a quarter-of-a-mile from the murus. There are six inscriptions in all, probably of almost contemporary date, but the only one of interest in this inquiry is the one here engraved (fig. 9). It was first discovered in 1859. It merely records the names of Faustinus and Rufus, who were consuls in A.D. 210, the year before that of Severus's death. Its value is that it proves, like the Gelt inscrip-

tion, that during Severus's sojourn in Britain, the quarries of the mural district were being worked. Dr. Bruce merely regards it as evidence that during A.D. 210, "and one or two previous years, extensive repairs were, no doubt, effected in the wall" (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 267). When we come to examine the early written history of the wall, we shall find that the repairs, of which we have abundant evidence, must be ascribed to a much later period than that of Severus. In the meantime, I feel bound to emphasise the fact that whilst no single quarry inscription has been found which can be ascribed to the time of Hadrian, we have two which belong to that of Severus; one of them naming the consuls of the first year, and the other those of the last, during which he was doubtless directing the construction of his great barrier.

I have already mentioned a second quarry inscription in the valley of the Gelt. It is engraved, but very unsatisfactorily, in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (n., 470). The following may be regarded as a more accurate copy of the letters than any which has yet been printed:

LRAIP CIT ET AMIO
LEGIONE SEˣSET
C IIVSIVS

The meaning is perhaps enigmatical, but the mention of the sixth legion is unmistakable. There are strong reasons for believing that this inscription is practically contemporary with that of the Written Rock. The two Gelt valley inscriptions thus mention the three legions, detachments of which were unquestionably employed on the construction of the wall. Numbers of centurial stones have been found in and near the murus, which are generally, and, I believe, correctly, held to be records of the portions of the wall which were built by the centuries they name. Such stones mention the second, the sixth, and the twentieth legions—the same legions as are mentioned on the quarry inscriptions of the Gelt.

The Evidence of Ancient Historians.

We now reach the last section of our inquiry. We must ascertain the testimony of the early Roman historians on the questions we have previously discussed.

That Hadrian constructed a barrier from the Tyne to the Solway we are expressly told by Ælianus Spartianus, a historian who wrote during the latter half of the third century. He tells us

that Hadrian "directed his course to Britain; in which [kingdom] he corrected many things, and was the first who constructed a wall eighty miles in length, which might divide the barbarians and the Romans (Britanniam petiit; in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret)." On this point Dr. Bruce assures us that "the testimony of Spartian, the historian of his [Hadrian's] reign, though brief, is decisive" (*Roman Wall*, 1st ed., p. 11; 2nd ed., p. 9). There is, however, another passage in the life of Hadrian by Spartianus, which throws considerable light on the character of the wall erected by that emperor, and on the purpose it was intended to serve. "In those times," says the historian, "and frequently in others, in many places in which the barbarians are not divided [from the Roman subjects] by rivers, but by frontiers, with great stakes fixed at the bottom [*i.e.*, driven into the ground], in the manner of a mural fence, and also fastened together, he separated the barbarians (Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepis funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros separavit)." From this important passage we learn that it was Hadrian's plan to adopt river boundaries whenever they were suitable, and to complete them, when it was necessary, by a mural fence, an adjunct to which was a palisade of stakes. The Pfahl-graben was such a boundary, between the Danube and the Rhine. The vallum was such a boundary between the Tyne and the Solway. Spartianus tells us the purpose for which such mural boundaries were constructed. It was to separate or keep out the barbarians. But they were north, and not south, of Hadrian's vallum. Remembering the purpose of the barrier, we see clearly that it was superseded by the stone wall, whether the latter structure was erected by Hadrian or by Severus.

No Roman historian, except Spartianus, mentions the construction of a wall in Britain by Hadrian. Our next evidence belongs to the reign of Antoninus Pius. In the life of that emperor, written by Julius Capitolinus, we read that "he [Antoninus] by his legates waged many wars. For by his legate, Lollius Urbicus, he also subdued the Britons, having constructed another cespititious wall against the driven-off barbarians (Per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro cespititio submotis barbaris ducto)." This passage is universally held to refer to the Antonine Wall in Scotland.

But the words "alio muro cespititio"—*another earthen wall*, clearly imply an earthen wall, *and an earthen wall only*, previously in existence. This previous wall can only be that of Hadrian, which could not possibly have been mentioned in this way had it been a double barrier, one-half built of stone and the other of earth. It is curious to notice the attempts which have been made to avoid this plain inference. In one place Dr. Bruce says, "The word *alio* may, without impropriety, be restricted to *muro* (!); and the expression equally well bears the translation 'another wall, of turf', as 'another turf wall'"!! (*Hist. Northumb.*, i, p. 43). So an ablative adjective may be regarded as a genitive noun. Reply to criticism of this character must be quite unnecessary. The passage may fairly be accepted as evidence that in the time of Antoninus the stone-wall had not been built.

A passage in Xiphiline which refers to the events of the reign of Commodus has been employed as evidence that the stone-wall was in existence during that reign. Xiphiline says:

"Commodus was also engaged in several wars with the barbarians who dwell beyond Dacia; . . . the Britannic war, however, was the greatest of these. For some of the nations within that island having passed over the wall which divided them from the Roman camps (τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐθνῶν ὑπερβεβηκότων τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διορίζον αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα), and, besides killing a certain commander with his soldiers, having committed much other devastation, Commodus became alarmed, and sent Marcellus Ulpius against them."

"The wall referred to", says Dr. Bruce, "was probably that of the lower isthmus" (*Roman Wall*, 1st ed., p. 14; 2nd ed., p. 11). This probability, at a later period, developed into a certainty (*Hist. Northumb.*, i, pp. 35, 39). And Mr. Clayton, in a paper previously quoted, says:

"Can anyone doubt that the historian, in the passage quoted, refers to the murus of the Lower Isthmus, and the castra *per lineam valli* which it separated from the Britons? The vallum, which, according to the theory of those who still adhere to the standard of Severus, would be the only rampart existing in the time of Commodus, lies to the south of these castra, and could not have separated them from the Britons." (*Arch. Æl.*, iv, p. 275.)

It would not be difficult to show that both the Antonine Wall and the Roman stations between it and the English barrier were maintained after the time of Antoninus. The interval between his reign and that of Commodus is too short to allow us to believe

that his wall and its stations had been abandoned. Horsley and Stuart agree in regarding the wall mentioned by Xiphiline as that of Antoninus (*Brit. Rom.*, p. 53, note d. ; *Caledonia Romana*, p. 276). A strict interpretation of Xiphiline's words leads to the same conclusion. The wall of Antoninus is the only one which did divide the barbarians from the Roman camps, for it will scarcely be contended that all such strongholds between the stone-wall of Northumberland and the earth-wall of Scotland were founded after the time of Commodus.

The inference has been attempted to be drawn from two inscriptions, one of which mentions Ulpius Marcellus, and the other of which is supposed to do so, that the scene of that legate's military operations was the lower isthmus. The first inscription is that of an altar from Benwell (Condercum), dedicated to the god Anociticus by Tineius Longus, who ascribes his advancement in military honours to the influence of Ulpius Marcellus. But if Marcellus was in Northumberland he might advance an inferior officer in any part of Britain, or, being in any other part of Britain, he might advance an officer in Northumberland. The second of these inscriptions is a fragment of a slab found at Chesters (Cilurnum), on which all that can be read are the letters

VLPIO
P

Ulpius, however, was a name borne by many other persons besides Ulpius Marcellus, with whom there is no evidence to connect this stone. Be all this as it may, however, and grant even that the services of Marcellus in Britain were confined to the mural region, we are no nearer any evidence that in the passage from Xiphiline the English wall is meant.

We now come to the reign of Severus, and are met by evidence, which it will be difficult to set aside, that he built a wall. The first writer to whom we must refer is Ælius Spartianus. In his life of Severus he says : "He fortified Britain with a wall, which is the greatest glory of his reign, constructed across the island in both directions to the limit of the ocean ; wherefore he also received the name of Britannicus (Britanniam, quod maximum ejus imperii decus est, muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem oceani munivit : unde etiam *Britannici* nomen accepit)." Although when Spartianus states that Hadrian built a wall, his testimony is "decisive", now that he bears similar witness to Severus, he becomes "a weak writer, who lived in an ignorant age, and nearly a century

after the time of Severus" (*Roman Wall*, 1st ed., p. 375; 2nd ed., p. 354); "a Latin author of no great authority" (3rd ed., p. 377); and "not an author of much credit" (*Handbook*, p. 254). More than this, the passage in which Spartianus ascribes a wall to Hadrian, and that in which he ascribes one to Severus, are held by the same writer to "neutralise" each other (*Roman Wall*, 2nd ed., p. 352), at least "to a considerable extent" (3rd ed., p. 377). Whether they neutralise each other in consequence of our difficulty in recognising two walls in "the barrier of the lower isthmus", or because Spartianus describes both walls by the word *murus*, is not very evident, but scattered fragments of criticism discover the writer's conviction that the word *murus* "strictly means a stone wall" (*Roman Wall*, 2nd ed., p. 352). In support of this assertion he quotes the dictum of the editor of the *Delphin Eutropius*, assuring us that his "critical powers are beyond cavil", who says that "*muri cespititii proprie valli dicuntur*", a declaration which, for the benefit of his unlearned reader, the author of *The Roman Wall* turns into, "walls of turf are properly called vallums". I have often wished that the critical powers of the editor of the *Delphin Eutropius*, and of other Delphin editors too, had really been "beyond cavil". Perhaps the ordinary lexicographers might have been referred to with greater advantage. Turning to White and Riddle, I find:

> "MURUS: a wall of a city; a wall for protecting a district; an earth-work, mound, embankment, etc.";

and the following sentence quoted from Varro: "*aggeres qui faciunt sine fossa, eos quidam vocant muros.*" As to *vallum*, the critic is not more fortunate, for in the oft-repeated phrase from the *Notitia*, "*stationes per lineam valli*", it can scarcely be contended that the earth-wall alone is meant.

Before we leave the passage from Spartianus now under discussion, it is desirable to make one extract in which it is referred to by Dr. Bruce. He tells us that

> "Horsley, in common with nearly all who have written upon the subject, have (*sic*) understood Spartian to say that the building of the wall was the great glory of Severus's reign. We shall, probably, more correctly ascertain his meaning if we keep prominently in view the essential part of the sentence: 'Britanniam, quod maximum ejus imperii decus est, ... munivit.' The portion which relates to the wall, 'muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem oceani', is given parenthetically, and is obviously of secondary import." (*Hist. Northumb.*, i, p. 40.)

I confess that this is criticism which I cannot understand,

unless Dr. Bruce wishes to say that it was the greatest glory of Severus's reign that he fortified Britain, and desires us, at the same time, to overlook the means by which this was done.

It is worthy of mention that the imperial coinage of Rome confirms the testimony of Spartianus. In the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* seven coins of Severus are engraved on which the title of *Britannicus* is bestowed upon him.

There is one further passage in which Spartianus refers to the wall. He says: "After the wall near the vallum was laid down in Britain, when he [Severus] returned to the nearest abode, not only a victor, but having founded eternal peace, considering in his mind what omen might happen to him, a certain Ethiopian, [etc.] (Post murum apud vallum missum in Britannia, cum ad proximam mansionem rediret, non solum victor, sed etiam in æternum pace fundata, volvens animo, quid ominis sibi occurreret, Æthiops quidam)," etcetera. This passage is not without its difficulties, and these have not been minimised by the advocates of the claims of Hadrian. Dr. Bruce, for instance, translates, "After the emperor had passed the wall or vallum," etc. But the reading "murum *aut* vallum" rests only on the conjecture of Salmasius. A *murus* newly *planned* and partly erected *near* the previously existing *vallum* is evidently what Spartianus means. This is the only reading which is supported by critical authority.

The statements of later writers are of no value as evidence, when, in the way repeatedly adopted by Dr. Bruce (*Roman Wall*, 1st ed., pp. 374-5; 2nd ed., pp. 353-4; 3rd ed., p. 378; *Hist. Northumb.*, i, pp. 37-8), they are strung together without discrimination. Carefully analysed, however, they yield most important testimony. Except one passage in Aurelius Victor, they are all evidently derived, directly or indirectly, from one common source, to the value and accuracy of which they all bear witness.

The passage in Aurelius Victor which I except from this category is the following, from his *De Cæsaribus*: "After the enemy was driven back, he [Severus] fortified Britain, which might be useful for those purposes, with a wall constructed across the island in both directions to the limit of the ocean (Britanniam, quæ ad ea utilis erat, pulsis hostibus, muro munivit, per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem oceani)." A comparison of this passage with that given above from Spartianus, will show whence Aurelius derived his information, and his testimony is therefore chiefly valuable as showing that in the first half of the century following

that in which Spartianus lived, that historian was regarded as a reliable authority.

Before offering any comment on the remaining authorities, it will be best to give the original text of each :

AURELIUS VICTOR (*circa* 360).

Hic [Severus] in Britannia vallum per triginta duo passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit. (*De Vita et Moribus Imperatorum Romanorum.*)

EUTROPIUS (*circa* 360).

Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit [Severus]: utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per xxxii. millia passuum a mari ad mare deduxit. (*Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ.*)

JEROME (*circa* 380).

Severus in Britannos bellum transfert, ubi, ut receptas provincias ab incursione barbarica faceret securiores, vallum per c.xxxii. passuum millia a mari ad mare duxit. (*Eusebii Pamphili Chronicorum, interprete Hieronymo.*)

PAULUS OROSIUS (*circa* 410).

Itaque magnam fossam firmissimumque vallum, crebris insuper turribus communitum, per centum triginta et duo millia passuum a mari ad mare duxit. (*Historia.*)

CASSIODORUS (*circa* 550).

APER ET MAXIMUS. His coss. Severus in Britannos bellum movit, ubi ut receptas provincias ab incursione barbarica faceret securiores, vallum per c.xxxii. passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit. (*Chronicon.*)

In all these passages the wall of Severus is called a vallum, and is said to have been constructed from sea to sea. Jerome, Orosius, and Cassiodorus state its length as 132 miles, but Aurelius and Eutropius as only 32 miles. Cassiodorus has most probably copied Jerome. Aurelius and Eutropius were contemporaries, and the passage in the *Epitome* of the former seems to be an abridgment of the words of the latter. Some of the MSS. of Eutropius, however, give the length of the wall as CXXXII miles. The omission of the C in Aurelius and Eutropius is clearly due to the transcribers. With all these subtractions we have three authorities left, Eutropius, Jerome, and Orosius, who have clearly not copied from one another. All, however, have evidently derived their information from one source, and they are independent witnesses to the esteem in which that source was held. There can scarcely be a doubt that, so far as their statements about the wall

of Severus is concerned, Eutropius, Jerome, and Orosius have followed some Greek writer. What Eutropius translates into *omni securitate muniret*, Jerome translates into *faceret securiores*. Orosius, however, has preserved allusions which have been passed over by the others. He is the only writer who mentions the fosse and the many towers of the wall. But the accuracy of his description is evidence of the value of the authority from which he translated. Grant that these writers drew their information from some Greek author, whose work is unknown to us, and the difficulty which arises from the great length which they ascribe to the wall disappears. There is a passage in Xiphiline's abridgment of Dion Cassius which throws great light on this question. It occurs in his description of Britain. "It is an island", says Xiphiline; "its length is seven thousand one hundred and thirty-two stadia; its greatest breadth two thousand three hundred and ten, and its least three hundred." All this, it is stated, was ascertained during the British campaign of Severus, who, it must be remembered, himself took observations of the sun's parallax. Now the length of Britain from Lizard Head to Dunnet Head is about 608 English, or 664 Roman, miles. But counting seven stadia to the Roman mile, its length according to Xiphiline is nearly 1,019 Roman miles. The exaggerated length of the Roman wall, as stated by the historians we have quoted, as compared with its true length, is about as 33 to 20; whilst that of the whole island, as stated by Xiphiline, compared with its true length, is about as 31 to 20.

Spartianus, then, and the three later writers, Eutropius, Jerome, and Orosius, constitute two perfectly independent testimonies, which mutually confirm each other, and which, taken together, are unimpeachable, that Severus built a wall, which, as we learn from another passage in Spartianus, was near Hadrian's, and which, consequently, can be no other than our murus.

An argument is attempted to be drawn from the silence of Dion Cassius and Herodian respecting the erection of any wall by Severus in Britain. Dr. Bruce thus states this argument:

> "The earliest writers who make any mention of a wall in England are Herodian and Dion Cassius. Both of them . . . were contemporary with Severus, and both describe the expedition of Severus into Britain; Dion does so at considerable length. If Severus, therefore, built the wall, we may expect them to acquaint us with the fact. Both mention the wall, but neither of them tells us that Severus erected it. The inference is that he did not." (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 376.)

The *argumentum ex silentio* is one of the weakest of arguments.

In this case it is especially weak. The portion of Dion Cassius which deals with the life of Severus exists now only in the abridgment of Xiphiline. That in this abridgment we are not told that Severus built the wall, is no proof that such a statement did not exist in the original work. The same abridgment contains Dion's life of Hadrian, and this neither tells us that *he* built the wall, nor, indeed, mentions the wall in any way. Will it be again said, "the inference is that he did not"? The inference is of the same value in each case. Herodian's history, unfortunately, only begins with the reign of Commodus, but his silence about the construction of a wall by Severus proves nothing. Xiphiline's abridgment of Dion Cassius mentions many things in the life of Severus which are not named by Herodian. Does it therefore follow that in such passages Xiphiline is not to be believed?

The argument from the absence of inscriptions addressed to Severus in the murus and its mile-castles and stations, is an argument of similar character. Though Severus commenced the wall, evidently in the first year of his life in Britain, he can scarcely be believed to have witnessed its completion. There can be no doubt that the builders of his great barrier would finish the wall first, and look after the inscriptions afterwards. Severus, however, was succeeded as emperor by his sons, Caracalla and Geta, the former of whom had attempted the assassination of his father in Scotland, and afterwards waited with undisguised impatience for his death at York. The year after the death of Severus, Geta was murdered at Rome by his brother's order, and an edict was issued throughout the Roman dominions that from all inscriptions wherein the name of Geta occurred, that name should be erased. Under the rule of such an unfilial son as Caracalla, it was scarcely to be expected that inscriptions awarding to Severus the meed of praise due to him for his work at the great wall would be permitted to be raised.

The stations and mile-castles of the wall, as Dr. Bruce has pointed out, bear evidence that at some period they have been extensively repaired. New and higher floors have been introduced. The double gateways of the stations have been half walled up, and the single ones of the mile-castles have been narrowed. Clearly this must have been done when the Roman rule in Britain was declining. Dr. Bruce ascribes these repairs and restorations to Severus, chiefly, it would seem, for the purpose of accounting for the quarry inscriptions of Gelt and Combe Crag. That at least one station in the north—Habitancum—was restored in the time of

Severus we know from the testimony of an inscription to which I have previously referred. But at Habitancum we have no evidence of such restorations—narrowed gateways and raised floors—as we find in the stations and castles of the wall. What can we infer from this, but that the mural repairs belong to a later and weaker period than that of Severus? Fortunately, we are not left without positive evidence on this point. During the reign of Valentinian, Theodosius was sent to Britain to quell a rebellion there. Ammianus Marcellinus—"a writer of good credit", says Dr. Bruce—tells us of the success of Theodosius. After he had defeated the barbarians, quelled the rebellion, and recovered the provinces, Marcellinus tells us that "he entirely restored the cities and camps damaged by manifold injuries, but founded to maintain lasting peace (in integrum restituit civitates et castra multiplicibus quidem damnis adflicta, sed ad quietem temporis longi fundata)." The same writer presently adds: "He restored, as we have said, the cities and garrisons; the castles and frontiers he defended with guards and outposts (instaurabat urbes et præsidiaria, ut diximus, castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et prætenturis)." To this period, then, in all probability, we must ascribe those repairs and alterations of the stations and castles of the Roman wall, which, in their very character, testify that they belong to the time when the power of the Roman arms was declining in this island; but, certainly, not to the time of Lucius Septimus Severus, when that power was at its meridian glory.

Our inquiry is at an end. We have seen that the line of stations between Wallsend and Bowness constitute a united system of frontier camps. Their structural peculiarities are proof that they were erected before the murus was contemplated. The vallum, we have also seen, bears evidence in the arrangement of its ramparts and ditch, and in its relative positions to the murus, both when it is unusually near and when it is far away, and especially when it touches the latter work, that it is the earlier structure, and was thrown up against a northern foe. The murus, in yielding an inscription to Hadrian from the foundations of one of its mile-castles, has asserted itself to be later than the reign of that emperor. The inscriptions of the Gelt Rock and Combe Crag tell us, as plainly as language could, of Roman building operations in the mural region throughout the sojourn of Severus in this island. The repairs and restorations of Amboglanna and Borcovicus, and of the mile-castles between the latter station and Æsica, are certainly

the work of a waning power, and belong, therefore, to a period long after that of Severus.

All these positions are borne out by the testimony of ancient historians. Tacitus tells us how Agricola enclosed the territory of the Brigantes with camps. Spartianus records the fact that Hadrian built, as was his practice, a wall from river to river; and Capitolinus describes the second British structure of this kind, that raised in Scotland by Antoninus Pius, as "another cespititious wall". Spartianus also tells us of the later wall, which elsewhere he calls "the wall near the vallum", built by Severus. Herein he is supported, amongst others, by Orosius, who mentions the fosse and the many towers of that wall.

Thus the stations, the vallum, and the murus, by their own testimony, and that of written history, are seen to be the works of successive periods and successive generations of men. It is no part of my task to pass a verdict on the Hadrianic theory; but I am at least entitled to say that that theory sets aside the whole body of evidence which it is the object of this article to bring forward, and, therefore, if only one section of that evidence be held to be sound, "the Ælian hypothesis" may be finally dismissed.

J. R. Boyle.

BRITISH DWARFS.[1]

WHILE the Picts, or Pechts, are remembered to a great extent as the builders of the subterranean and half-subterranean dwellings with which they are associated, these are far from being the only structures which popular tradition has stamped as the work of their hands. The architectural skill, of a kind, which they displayed in the construction of their own "Pechts' houses" may be seen from such a casual reference as this, gleaned from among certain specimens of Clydesdale folk-lore: "Our milkhouse", says a Clydesdale peasant, "whilk stude on the side of a dentie burn, and was ane o' thae auld vowts [vaults] whilk the Pechs biggit langsyne, had wa's sae doons strang that ane waud hae thocht it micht hae stude to the last day; but its found had been onnerminit by the last Lammas-spait."[2] If the "Pechts' houses" lacked, as they certainly did, evidences of high culture in the designers, or outward beauty of design in themselves, they were at least remarkable for their great strength and durability; so that, were it not for such accidents as a Lammas-flood, they might well have stood "to the last day". But the great bodily strength of this race, and their turn for masonry, were made use of in other ways than in the construction of the dwellings referred to; that is, if there is any truth in the popular ideas upon this subject.

The late Robert Chambers, in putting together the popular Scotch beliefs regarding these people,[3] not only states that they were "short wee men", but he adds, still speaking as a Scottish peasant: "The Pechs were great builders; they built a' the auld castles in the kintry; and do ye ken the way they built them? I'll tell ye. They stood all in a row from the quarry to the place where they were building, and ilk ane handed forward the stanes to his neebor, till the hale was biggit." A special example of one of the buildings so reared is the Round Tower of Abernethy, in Perthshire, well known as one of the two towers of this class still to be found in Scotland. "The story goes", says the Rev. Andrew

[1] The reader is referred to an article on "The Finn-men of Britain", which appeared in the August and September numbers of this *Review*.

[2] *Scots Magazine*, vol. iii, 1818, p. 503.

[3] *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, pp. 80-82.

Small, in his *Antiquities of Fife*,[1] "that it was built by the Pechts, ... and that, while the work was going on, they stood in a row all the way from the Lomond Hill to the building, handing the stones from one to another. . . . That it has been built of freestone from the Lomond Hill is clear to a demonstration, as the grist or nature of the stone points out the very spot where it has been taken from, namely, a little west, and up from the ancient wood of Drumdriell, about a mile straight south from Meralsford." That Abernethy was long a seat of Pictish power is what no historian would deny, and the tower referred to is always denominated "Pictish". Of the way in which it was built we have just seen the local account.

Similar ideas are current in Northumberland. "The erection of several of these old castles [*e.g.*, Dunstanborough Castle] is, by popular tradition, ascribed to the Picts. . . . The building of the Roman wall, which is by country people commonly called the Picts' wall, is also ascribed to them; and they are said to have formed the Catrail on the Scottish border, which is frequently called the Picts-work ditch. The Picts are described as men of low stature, but of superhuman strength; and on the moors of Northumberland the heaps of stone, which are supposed by antiquaries to mark the spot where 'bones of mighty chiefs lie hid', are sometimes pointed out to the inquiring stranger as places where a Pict's apron-string had broken as he was carrying a load of stones to his work."[2]

Although the tower at Abernethy, and the "Pechts' houses" already spoken of, may be classed together as having been built for the use of the builders themselves, it is quite evident that if these people actually reared the many other structures attributed to them, in Scotland and in Northumberland, they did so in the character of serfs, working for people of other races. If Dunstanborough Castle, the Wall of Hadrian, and (perhaps also) the Catrail, not to speak of "a' the auld castles in the kintry", were built by the Pechts, the builders were evidently not working on their own behalf. This clearly must have been the case in the instance of the "Roman Wall", which was raised for the very purpose of checking the southward inroads of these fierce warriors. That it actually was a "Roman wall" is of course beyond question. But that fact does not interfere with the supposition that the drudgery was performed by captive Pechts, whose immense

[1] Edinburgh, 1823, pp. 152-3.

[2] *Rambles in Northumberland*, by S. Oliver. London, 1835, p. 104.

strength, and intimate acquaintance with the art of building such structures, would render them of the greatest use to their conquerors. That they, and not the Romans, were the actual *builders* of the wall, as Northumbrian tradition asserts, is therefore far from improbable. Indeed, there are one or two indications that the more northern "Wall of Antoninus" may also have been reared by kindred hands. And as with these early examples, so may the later buildings referred to have actually been unwillingly built by Pechts, at the command of other people.[1]

Not only walls and castles, or towers, but churches and cathedrals are also said to have been reared by the same dwarfish but powerful builders, as may be seen from the following instances.

One part of Scotland that continued to be a "reservation" of the Pechts, after that people had ceased to hold sway, is the hilly country lying to the south of Edinburgh, and known as "the Pentlands". Like the "Pentland Firth" on the north-east of Scotland, this district was so called because it was associated with the Pechts. We need not here concern ourselves as to the causes which made the name, in both instances, assume the modern form of "Pentland". But, in each case, the name was formerly "Pehtland", and it signified "the land of the Pehts, or Pechts". According to Dr. Skene, the Angles of Northumbria had, as early as the seventh century, established themselves pretty securely as the ruling caste throughout the south-east of what is now Scotland, then a part of "Northumbria". This territory seems to have reached as far on the north-west as the modern county of Linlithgow, and one of the chief Northumbrian strongholds in that neighbourhood has ever since been known by the name of the Northumbrian king, Edwin. Edinburgh, therefore, in the seventh century, appears as a seat of the Anglian race, which ruled from the Forth to the Humber. Three or four centuries later, the steadily growing power of "Scotia" annexed the whole of Northumbria lying north of the Borders. But the population no doubt remained little affected by this political change, and its speech and traditions continued the same.[2]

[1] The earliest instance which has come under my notice of such work performed in the British Islands by a subject people, who correspond in many ways with the Pechts, is that given by Lady Ferguson (*The Story of the Irish before the Conquest*, London, 1868, p. 32), with reference to the rebuilding of the fort of Cruachan, in Connaught.

[2] For Dr. Skene's accounts, on which these statements are based, see *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i, pp. 236-241; and p. cvii of his Preface to the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*.

But, although those Angles were the rulers of south-eastern Scotland (in modern topography), there still remained a remnant of the Pechts in at least one part of that northern Northumbria.[1] And it was because of their residence there that the Angles spoke of the hilly region lying to the south and south-west of Edinburgh as "the Peht or Pecht lands". How long the Pechts maintained some kind of individuality in that neighbourhood it is impossible to say. It is said that, after Kenneth's great victory over the Pechts at Forteviot or at Scone, in the middle of the ninth century, many of the fugitives sought refuge in England. And, as the Pentland Hills were then in "England", it is likely that they found shelter among their kindred there. In other parts of Scotland the Pechts are historically visible long after the seventh and ninth centuries. At the battle of the Standard, in 1138, the Galloway section formed one division of the Scottish army.[2] A popular tradition, to be presently referred to, also speaks of them as a distinct people in the Clyde valley, during the same century. It is therefore quite permissible to suppose that, once the people of the Midlothian "Pecht-lands" had realised that they were a conquered remnant, with no hope of ultimately recovering their lost power, they may have continued to live, if merely as serfs, not only to the twelfth century but for several centuries longer.

That they did so is to be inferred from the following bit of "folk-lore", which relates to a locality that, though not strictly included in the district of the "Pecht-lands", is quite near enough to agree with this hypothesis.

The hill of Corstorphine, situated a little to the west of Edin-

[1] It is not meant to be implied that Angles and Pechts were exclusively the inhabitants of this territory at that time. But it seems clear that the former predominated, and gave to the district the impression of speech and custom which it yet retains.

[2] *Celtic Scotlana*, vol. i, pp. 203 and 467. "Reginald of Durham, writing in the last half of the twelfth century, mentions, in 1164, Kirkcudbright as being in 'terra Pictorum', and calls their language 'sermo Pictorum'." (*Op. cit.*, p. 203, *note.*) Dr. Skene, quoting various authorities, gives us an interesting description of the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard. It was composed, we learn, of Normans, Germans, English, Northumbrians, Cumbrians, men of Teviotdale and the Lothians, Picts (commonly called Galloways or Galloway-men), and Scots. This is the statement made by Richard of Hexham, a contemporary writer, and it seems to agree on the whole with the other accounts. His "Cumbrians" are identified with the "Welsh" of Strathclyde. No doubt his "Northumbrians" were those who, living on the north of the Border, belonged to that part of Northumbria which had then been Scottish for more than a century. The Galloway Picts, it may be added, were in the front of the battle, and "claimed to lead the van as their right".

burgh, is only about three miles north of the nearest point of the "Pecht-lands". Now, the village church of Corstorphine is one of the few churches in Scotland which are of interest to the antiquary. "Ancient it most unquestionably is", says a modern writer in the course of a description of the village and its church, and the foundation of the latter is placed in the year 1429. The fifteenth century is not very "ancient", as these things go, but perhaps the site had been occupied by a church from a much earlier period. At any rate, the writer just referred to, in visiting Corstorphine for the purpose of inspecting both church and village, obtained this piece of local tradition, believed to relate to the church of 1429. "Of this [church], in November 1881, an intelligent native assured the writer that it was 'wonderfully ancient, built by the Hottentots, who stood in a row and handed the stones on one to another from Ravelston quarry'"—on the adjacent hill of Corstorphine.[1]

Now, if one compares this account with the traditional description of the *modus operandi* of the Pechts, already instanced in the case of Abernethy, and generally accepted throughout Scotland, one hardly requires the historical testimony of the "Pecht-lands" to recognise in these "Hottentots" the Pechts of tradition. It is not necessary to take the expression here used by the Corstorphine villager as absolutely correct. His statement, it may be remarked, succeeded a conversation in which our various wars in South Africa had been discussed,[2] and it is not unlikely that this had suggested to the speaker the term "Hottentot" as aptly enough describing a race that to his ancestors, whose ideas he inherited, had seemed savage and inferior. That he absolutely believed the labourers who reared the walls of the church to be of a different race from his own is unquestionably indicated by the whole tenor of his remarks.

This Corstorphine tradition points to a body of Pechts still surviving as a distinct type, in the Midlothian of 1429; and then regarded by the general population as a caste of drudges. They may be seen in the Clyde valley, in the same position, but three centuries earlier, on the testimony of tradition. "Throughout Scotland", says an antiquary previously quoted, "the vulgar account is, 'that the *Pechs* were unco wee bodies, but terrible strang'; that is, that they were of very small stature, but of prodigious strength. It is commonly added [he goes on] 'that the meal (oatmeal) was a penny the peck when they built the *Hie* Kirk [the

[1] See the *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1882, vol. i, p. 287.

[2] This I am informed by the writer of the lines quoted.

Cathedral] of Glasgow' ; for the building of all the cathedrals, and in general everything very ancient, is ascribed by the common people to the *Pechs*."[1] Now, the present Cathedral of Glasgow is said to have been built in the twelfth century, at which date the Pechts of Galloway formed a distinct and separate population in south-western Scotland. According to Reginald of Durham, as we have already seen, the town of Kirkcudbright was situated in the " Pecht-lands" (*terra Pictorum*), and the *sermo Pictorum* was still spoken there. In the same century the Galloway Pechts formed the van of the Scottish army at the battle of the Standard ; and the Pechts of this period are remembered in the popular memory, assisted by a homely enough detail, as having been employed in the building of the " High Church" of Glasgow. Of course, the Clyde valley is not situated in Galloway ; but the presence of Pechts in twelfth-century Glasgow may easily be explained by assuming that they belonged to another detachment of the race, or that it was worth while sending to Galloway for such famous builders. Belonging to a period less easily defined are the Pecht masons of the famous Round Tower at Brechin. Regarding this tower, a local writer states : " Tradition, in Brechin, as well as at Abernethy, ascribes the erection to the *Peghts*", and he adds that " it has stated they were only allowed a trifle for this work, and were cheated out of part of this trifle".[2] In this instance, also, the Pechts are remembered as working for people of another race ; which is somewhat remarkable, as the tower itself is one of those which seem to have been built by the Pechts for *their own* purposes.

Without going much out of the way, it may be as well to point out that the popular idea of the Pechts being " men of low stature, *but of superhuman strength*", " unco wee bodies, *but terrible strang*", is not only supported by tradition on every side, but it is borne out by a consideration of the mementos they have left behind them. Much could be said on this subject ; but it will perhaps be enough here to point to a hill-fortress in Forfarshire, which history and tradition agree in ascribing to these people. This is the stronghold known as the White Cater Thun, situated a few miles north-west of Brechin (which possesses the Pictish round-tower just referred to, and which was once a seat of Pictish monarchy). The fort crowns a hill which rises about three hundred feet above

[1] Knox's *Topography of the Tay*, Edinburgh, 1831, pp. 108-9.

[2] *History of Brechin*, by David D. Black. Edinburgh and Brechin, 1867, 2nd edition, p. 247.

the general level of the great valley of Strathmore, and is thus referred to:

"This is, perhaps, the strongest Pictish fortification extant. It is surrounded by a double rampart of an elliptical figure, being 436 feet long by about 200 broad, and containing about two imperial acres. . . . But the most wonderful thing that occurs in this Pictish fort is the extraordinary dimensions of the ramparts, composed entirely of large, loose stones, being 26 feet thick at the top, and upwards of 100 at the bottom, reckoning quite to the ditch, which, indeed, seems to be much filled up with the tumbling down of the walls. The vast labour that it must have cost to amass so enormous a quantity of large stones, and convey them to such a height, is astonishing. In conveying the enormous quantity of large stones to the summit of White Cater Thun, the natives must doubtless have expended great labour, and much time. They seem, however, to have been familiar with a method of removing immense masses from considerable distances, and it is supposed they made use of hurdles on such occasions; it is not improbable they might have some kind of rude windlass for raising the larger stones from the bottom to the top of the hill."[1]

Whatever the method employed by the builders of this stronghold, the description just given will show the reader what he cannot fail to be impressed with on a study of the Pechts, that these people and their buildings belonged to what is known as the "Cyclopean" type, and that they—the people—represented a race now quite extinct, in its purity, but which must undoubtedly have been remarkable for a prodigious strength of body, a strength that may well be spoken of as "superhuman", if it is to be compared with that of any existing race of men. It is this point that must always be borne in mind when one considers the traditions regarding the buildings of the Pechts, and this it is that justifies the very parts of those traditions which would otherwise appear utterly wild and incredible. Beyond question, there is much that demands criticism and inquiry in the traditional description of the way in which such edifices as Abernethy Tower and Corstorphine Church were reared. But two important points must not be overlooked. The one is that an immense number of people may have been simultaneously at work; the other is that the workers were of vast muscular strength.

In the preceding pages of this paper we have been considering the people known as "Pechts". But it is contended that the "Feens" of Gaelic story ought to be identified with the "Pechts".

[1] Knox's *Topography*, pp. 92-94.

When the leader of the "Feens" landed in "the country of the big men", he was at once seized upon as eminently fitted to be the court dwarf, into which office he was duly installed; from which it was reasonably inferred that he was a "pegh", or dwarf. Now, in one of the many songs ascribed to the son of this "pegh", Oisin, who is ever bemoaning the departed glories of his race, he laments the fact that he finds himself in his old age "wearily dragging stones along to the church on the hill of the priest". "Here, where he is a drudge, he has seen the Feinne in their glory. Were they alive, shavelings would not hold this mound." Thus laments Oisin, the representative of the old heathen Feens, bitter in his denunciations of Patrick the priest, and the new order which he represents, and ever bewailing the vanished "glory of the Feinn".

We find Oisin, therefore, accepted universally as the type of his race, unwillingly occupied in "dragging stones for priests to build churches", in his old age and after the downfall of his people. Nor was it only as the serf of another race that he had so worked; because, he explains to Patrick that this old age of drudgery had been foretold to him by his leader, Fin, on a previous occasion, before the coming of Patrick, and on that occasion not only Oisin, but a great number of the Feens of Ireland, were engaged in a similar task. The great difference was that then they were not working as the drudges of another people, but for themselves, and at the command of their leader. And it was not a church, but a hill-fortress, that they were building, "on Cuailgne's bare and rounded hill". Oisin speaks of it as Fin's "famous fort", and the hill on which it was built is "said to be in the county of Armagh". According to Oisin, two-thirds of the materials for the fort were brought thither by the Feens of Connaught and the west of Ireland, and the remainder by the Feens of Leinster and the east of Ulster, to which section both Oisin and Fin belonged. Assuming these traditional accounts to be correct, we thus see the Feens, in the day of their independence, "dragging stones" to the top of a hill, in order to build a fortress; and later on we see them, personified by Oisin, occupied in a similar manner, but as the drudges of Christian priests and the builders of Christian churches. The one account applies to Scotland and the other to Ireland; but the Pechts of the White Cater Thun have their counterparts in the Feens who reared the "famous fort" "on Cuailgne's bare and rounded hill"; and the Pechts who built the churches of Glasgow and Corstorphine are also duplicated in the conquered Feens, "wearily dragging stones for priests to build churches", in Ireland.

Consequently, the traditional fame of the Pechts of Scotland, as a great race of builders, is not at all at variance with the belief that they and the Feens were of one nation.[1]

But, if Fin and his Feens were builders of the hill-forts of the "Pechts", and were themselves veritable Pechts, it is evident that the Feens built and inhabited the dwellings known as "Pechts' houses". This is quite borne out when we regard that class of building which, although an archæologist already quoted (Mr. Petrie) does not hold it to be strictly entitled to the designation of "Pechts' house", is nevertheless a variety of the same species, and often receives the same title. The variety referred to differs from what has been accepted as the true "Pechts' house", in that it has no superimposed covering of earth or turf. But the two varieties undoubtedly belong to the same general class. Now, with regard to this second order of "Pechts' house", we have such a statement as the following: "Glenlyon, in Perthshire, is remarkable for the great number of remains of aboriginal works scattered through it, in the shape of circular castles built entirely of dry stones. The common people believe these structures to have belonged to their mythic hero, Fion, ... and have a verse to that effect:

'Bha da chaisteal dheug aig Fionn
Ann an Crom-ghleann-nan-clach.'

That is, *Fion had twelve castles in the Crooked Glen of Stones* (such being an old name for Glenlyon)."[2] And a like belief prevails in other Perthshire glens, such as Glenshee and Glenalmond, beside the latter of which, as every reader of Wordsworth knows, Oisin himself is said to be buried.

The true "Pecht's house", however, is not this dry-stone, circular "castle", open to air and sun. These "castles" are, indeed, popularly included among "Pechts' houses", but such an archæologist as the one recently referred to prefers to speak of them as "brochs". This word "broch" (akin to *burgh*, etc.) has been adopted by Dr. Joseph Anderson and other eminent students of such buildings, to distinguish this special structure; and although, etymologically regarded, the distinction is arbitrary, it is very convenient. But the "broch", standing visibly exposed like any other ruin, its stone walls uncovered to the sun, is by no means the same thing as

[1] For these references to Oisin and the Feens see Skene's *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, pp. 12-14 (English version), and 10-11 (Gaelic). Also Mr. J. F. Campbell's *Leabhar na Feinne*, pp. xiii, 47 and 49.

[2] Chambers's *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, pp. 254-55.

the "Pecht's house" described by Mr. Petrie and others. This, it may be remembered, is almost or altogether identical with the dwellings of the North-Greenland Eskimos, as portrayed by the explorers of seventy years ago. It is approached through a long, dark tunnel, entered from the face of a bank or brae, so low that one has to crawl along it, its sides and roofs composed of large stone slabs, and the roof itself flush with, or even underneath, the surface of the ground. At the end of this long, dark, narrow passage one enters the central chamber of the dwelling of the North-Greenlander and the ancient Pecht. It, too, would be in darkness, were it not for the rude stone lamp, fed with the oil of seal or whale, soaking through moss or the pith of rushes, which hangs from the roof and is always burning. Here and there at the side of this central chamber are openings in the wall which lead into small cavities used as sleeping-places. Briefly and imperfectly, that is the interior of the Pecht's house.[1]

Viewed from the outside, what does it resemble? The underground passage of approach is invisible. The "house" itself "is generally of a conical form, and externally closely resembles a large bowl-shaped barrow. It consists of a solid mass of masonry, covered with a layer of turf a foot or more in thickness, and has a central chamber surrounded by several smaller cells." Or, as another writer describes it, "all that meets the eye at first is a green, conical mound resting silently amid the moorland solitude." The entrance to this seeming hillock, situated sometimes at its base, more frequently, perhaps, at the extremity of a narrow, underground tunnel, was never very conspicuous, since it was only about a couple of feet high. In the days when the Pechts

[1] Although the Pechts made use of stone lamps similar to those of the northern Eskimos, it is perhaps too much to assume that the dwellings of the former admitted nothing of the light of day. Mr. Petrie states that the walls of the Pechts' houses "converge towards the top, where they approach so closely that the aperture can be spanned by a stone a couple of feet in length". If this aperture remained open during the day, which seems quite likely, then the above reference as to the ever-burning lamp is only applicable to the dwellings of the northern Greenlanders. For the sake of safety, while their lands were over-run by hostile forces, it is probable that the Pechts did cover the two-foot hole in the roof with a large stone, which itself would need to be hidden by earth and turf. But the fact that such an aperture was left in the building indicates that it was frequently uncovered; perhaps always at night, and also, during times of safety, in the day. In the latter case, the interior of this underground dwelling would thus receive, through the hole overhead, enough light to fill the central chamber with a sort of twilight, although the smaller cells might have been quite in darkness.

were actually inhabiting these "green hillocks", it is likely they took the precaution to conceal this outer orifice, small though it was, as well as possible. Thus, the adventurer or colonist of another race, arriving at a settlement of Pechts' houses, saw nothing but one or more grassy, conical hillocks rising out of the surrounding moor.

Since the Gaelic term *broch* (for it is Gaelic, though not exclusively so) is used to denote the one variety of these "Pictish" dwellings, let us employ, if only temporarily, the Gaelic term which denotes the other. That kind of *broch*, then, which is covered over with earth and turf so as to resemble a conical, green mound, is known in Gaelic by the name of *sith-bhrog*, or *sith-bhrugh;* that is to say, the broch of the *sith.* Still more commonly, it is styled a *sithean*, or *sith*-place. When rendered in our modern English spelling, according to its pronunciation, this distinctive *sith* becomes spelt *shee;* as in the case of *Gleann-sith*, which is written "Glenshee". And, similarly, *sithean* becomes *sheean.* It is the "sheean", then, and not the "broch" proper, that is regarded by such archæologists as Mr. Petrie as peculiarly the dwelling of the Pechts.

Now, if any Highlander were asked his opinion as to the former inhabitants of the "sheeans", he would have but one answer to give. And the nature of that answer is very clearly shown by those Highlanders who have compiled the leading Scottish-Gaelic dictionaries. *Brog* (*i.e.*, "broch") is itself defined as an obsolete term for "a house"; but its variant *bruth* connects, if it does not identify, the "broch" with the "sheean". The various definitions are these: *Bruth*, "a house half under the surface", "the dwelling of fairies in a hill"; *sith-bruth*, *sith-bhrugh*, "a fairy hill or mansion"; *sith-bhrog*, *sith-bhruach*, *sith-bhruth*, "a fairy hill", "a fairy residence", "fairyland"; *sithean*, "a little hill or knoll", "a fairy hill"; *sithain*, "a green knoll or hillock, tenanted, according to superstitious belief, by fairies".[1]

Thus, the houses of the Pechts or dwarfs were inhabited by the people known as "fairies". As the fairies were "little people", there is here no contradiction in terms. We have, moreover, seen that the same "conical, green mounds" are remembered in Orkney and Shetland as the homes of the "trows". "Trow", however,

[1] See the dictionaries of Armstrong, McLeod and Dewar, and McAlpine. McAlpine also defines the word *digh* as "a conical mound", "an abode of fairies"; and that more uncommon term is thus employed in an Islay story of Mr. J. F. Campbell (*West Highland Tales*, ii, 48).

is itself equivalent to *droich*, or dwarf. Therefore, the belief that those outward-seeming "green hillocks" were the abodes of Pechts is quite in agreement with the traditions that refer to those mound-dwellers as *trows* and *fairies* (otherwise "the little people"). Because *pecht* (or *pech*), *trow*, and *fairy* are all synonyms for "dwarf".

In a reference to the popular traditions of Northumberland, the Picts are spoken of as "a race of people who are represented, in such legends, as endowed with supernatural power, and holding, in the scale of beings, an intermediate rank between men and fairies".[1] Sir Walter Scott also corroborates this belief as existent in Northumberland (*Rob Roy*, ch. xxiii). And the writer previously quoted, in describing the local tradition with regard to the building of the tower at Abernethy by the Pechts, explains that "the people always, when they speak of these Peghs, associate that idea with a notion that they were a preternatural sort of beings, such as fairies and brownies". Therefore, without entering into any discussion as to what is or was meant by "supernatural power", we have ascertained from these extracts that the Pechts were regarded, in Northumberland and in Scotland, as a race of people possessing or claiming "supernatural" attributes. And that they were akin to "fairies and brownies", if they were not identical with them. This also is the position of the "Feens" of Gaelic folk-lore, as the following references will show.

When the celebrated Irish king, Brian Borumha, defeated the Danes of Dublin and their allies, in the year 1000 A.D., it is stated that he appropriated all the vast treasures that the Danes had gathered together :—"gold and silver, and bronze, and precious stones, and carbuncle-gems, and buffalo-horns, and beautiful goblets," as well as "various vestures of all colours".[2] And the chronicler

[1] *Rambles in Northumberland*, by S. Oliver, London, 1835, p. 104.

[2] *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, edited by J. H. Todd, D.D., London, 1867, p. 115. In the above quotation, the word translated "bronze" is *finndruine*. This is referred to as "a metal, the constituents of which are not well known. O'Clery describes it as *prás go n-airgead buailte*, 'brass, with silver hammered on to it'." It is also referred to as "white silver", "silver or white bronze", "brass", and "copper". It was employed to furnish such various articles as "leg armour", the rim of a shield, a royal chessboard, and, further, a bedstead—which surely ought to have been royal also. (*Op. cit.*, pp. ciii-civ, *note*, and 50 and 94 ; also Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 507.) The passage relating to buffalo-horns is given in the Gaelic version (*War of the Gaedhil*, p. 114), "*ocus do chornaibh buabaill*". The word *corn*, of which *chornaibh* is an inflection, is substantially the Latin *cornu*. The Scotch-Gaelic dictionaries give it chiefly the signification of "drinking-horn" and "sounding-horn, or

explains that "never was there a fortress, or a fastness, or a mound, or a church, or a sacred place, or a sanctuary", which the Danes had not plundered when it fell to their arms. The first three terms, which in the Gaelic are *dún*, *daingean*, and *diongna*, are closely allied, and each designates something akin to the "hollow mounds" of which we have been speaking.[1] But the succeeding sentence is quite explicit: "Neither was there in concealment under ground in Erinn, *nor in the various solitudes belonging to Fians or to fairies*, anything that was not discovered by these foreign, wonderful Denmarkians, through paganism and idol worship." With regard to which last allusion, Dr. Todd says: "The meaning is, that notwithstanding the potent spells employed by the Fians and fairies of old for the concealment of their hidden treasures, the Danes, by their pagan magic and the diabolical power of their idols, were enabled to find them out."[2] (The Gaelic from which Dr. Todd translates the above sentences is as follows:—"Ni raibh imorro *dún* no *daingean*, no *diongna*, no ceall, no cadhas, no neimedh do gabhadh ris an ngláim nglifidhigh, nglonnmair, ngnuismhir do bhí ag teaglaim, ocus ag teaccar na hédala sin, óir ni raibhe ifolach *fo thalmain* in Erinn ina fá dhiamhraibh díchealta ag *fianaibh* no ag *síthcuiraibh* ní na fuaratar na Danmargaigh

trumpet". Armstrong states that the drinking-cups of the northern nations were made from the horns of the "urus or European buffalo", referred to by Latin writers: He adds: "One of these immense horns, at least an ox-horn of prodigious size, is still preserved in the castle of Dunvegan, Isle of Sky." *Buabhall* has itself the secondary meaning of "trumpet", or "cornet"; but its true meaning is "buffalo". Armstrong subjoins these comparisons—Armorican *bual*, French *bufle*, Latin *bubulus*, Greek *boubalos*. Also Cornish *buaval*, with the meaning of "trumpet". And also *buabhull-chorn*, "a bugle-horn", with which he compares the Welsh *bual-gorn*. Halliwell has *bougil*, "a bugle-horn", and *bugle*, "a buffalo"; and with reference to the latter spelling he says, "hence bugle-horn, a drinking-vessel made of horn; also a hunting-horn". Professor Skeat, who cites Halliwell also, defines "bugle" as "a wild ox". It is clear that these are all merely variants of one word, or rather of two words. The *u* in "bugle" has originally been broad. The hard *c* of "corn" has become a guttural in "chorn", and a mere aspirate in "horn", although it is still found as "corn" both in English and Gaelic dictionaries (with a very restricted meaning in the former instance).

[1] Dr. Todd (*op. cit.*, p. 40, *note*), in referring to another instance in which these terms occur, says:—"The words here used, *Dún*, *Daingen*, *Dingna*, all signify a fort or fortress. It is not easy to define the precise difference between them. *Dún* . . . seems to signify a fortified hill or mound. *Daingen* (dungeon) is a walled fort or strong tower; hence *daingnigim*, I fortify. *Dingna* [which he translates "mound" in the above instance] is apparently only another form of the same word. Cf. *Zeuss*, p. 30 n."

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 115, note.

allmardha ingantacha sin, tre geintlidhecht, ocus tre iodhaladhradh.")[1]

Like the Pechts, in Northumbrian tradition, the Feens are here not absolutely *identified* with the fairies, although the two are so closely associated that it is difficult to distinguish between the one and the other. The traditions of the Feens themselves testify to a distinction between the two. Thus, in the *Dan an Fhir Shicair*, or Ballad of the Fairy Man,[2] Fin and his six nobles, while walking out one evening, see a fairy-man coming towards them, who announces that he comes from the neighbouring Golden Doon (*Dún an oir*), and that his purpose is to cause those Feens to come, by enchantment, to dine that day with him and his people in their "hill". Here, then, we have the Feens associating, to some extent (though not, as it appears, on a very friendly footing) with fairies, and yet not themselves regarded as identical with that people.

From the foregoing reference to the plunder of the Danes at Dublin, in the year 1000, it is evident that "the Feens and Fairies" were understood, in the traditional history of the Gaels, to be then actually inhabiting those underground and half-underground dwellings known as "Pechts' houses". There is another reference, in the same history, that corroborates this belief. The date when Brian Borumha became possessor of those "fairy-hoards", which the Danes had previously obtained by their well-known process of "how-breaking",[3] was the close of the tenth century. Now, a son of this same Brian, and also one of his father's chief warriors, are both described as asserting (on a certain occasion, in the reign of the same Brian)[4] that they had been tempted by the fairies to forsake their ancestral cause. "Often", says Murchadh, "was I offered, in hills and in fairy mansions [*i sithaib ocus i sithbrugaib*],

[1] Even the expression "*fo thalmain*" may be held to denote the "conical hill" of the fairies. *Talmhainn* is certainly the genitive of *talamh*, "the ground"; and so "*fo thalmain*" signifies "under the ground". But *tolman* particularly denotes "a mound". And it, or the variant *tulman*, is used in an Islay fairy tale (Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, ii, 39) with special reference to one of those abodes of the "little people". It may be added that the word translated the "solitudes" of the Feens, etc., might also be rendered the "secret places" or "concealed places".

[2] *Leabhar na Feinne*, pp. 94-95.

[3] The "fairy mound" was also known as a "how" or "haug", and its people as "how-folk". To "break", or break into a "how", in the hope of obtaining treasure (an early form of burglary), was a well-known custom of the Danes.

[4] *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, pp. clxxviii-clxxix, note 5, and pp. 172-173.

this world and these gifts ; but I never abandoned for one night my country nor my inheritance for them." As Murchadh's response was evoked by a similar statement on the part of Dunlang, it thus appears that, in rifling the abodes of the "how-folk", the Danes were robbing a race *then alive*, and were not merely appropriating unclaimed treasure. And, indeed, the Scandinavian accounts of "how-breaking" distinctly point out that this pastime involved a struggle of life and death with the armed inmate of the "how".

The evidence of Murchadh and Dunlang, then, shows that intercourse with "the fairies" was not a matter for wonder ; and, moreover, that, for one reason or another, the latter desired to seduce the Gaelic-speaking people from their allegiance. That they were eventually successful with Dunlang seems pointed out by the statement, made elsewhere, that this Dunlang was himself a fairy (*sioguidhe*).[1] And it is well known that "Fairies", as well as "Feens", while possessing distinct innate attributes, were not averse to obtaining adherents from other races, who thus became "Feens" and "Fairies" by adoption.

In the instance of Murchadh and Dunlang, however, the *Feens* are not named ; and it is a matter for conjecture whether they ought to be included among the Fairies there spoken of. But, at any rate, the incident shows that the Fairies (if not the Feens) formed an active, existent caste or race, subsequent to the date of Brian's famous victory over the Danes ; and that the Danish inroads on their doons, brochs, hows, etc., in the neighbourhood of Dublin had not by any means annihilated them as a people.

Of this robbery of the "how-folk" by the Danes in the Dublin district, something further may be said in passing. The exact date of these raids is stated to have been 862 A.D., when the Danes overran the whole district of the Boyne and Blackwater (co. Meath), and broke into the "fairy hills" of that region ; one of which, that of New Grange, is probably the most interesting example of its class that is at present known to archæologists.[2] Therefore, the booty which the Danes thus obtained in 862 must have formed a portion of that captured by King Brian, after his victory, in the year 1000. And it is clear enough that it was this special treasure

[1] Dr. Todd, in mentioning this and the other relative circumstances, refers the reader to "Mr. O'Kearney's Introd. to the *Feis Tighe Chonain* (Ossianic Soc.) p. 98 *sq.*"—and to O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, iii, c. 22, p. 200.

[2] See Sir W. R. Wilde's *Beauties of the Boyne*, Dublin, 1849, p. 202. The same work refers (p. 24) to "sidh Nechtain, the fairy hill of Nechtain", where the river Boyne rises, but does not state whether early Dane or modern archæologist has ever investigated it. (It is now known as the Hill of Carbury.)

that the chronicler referred to when he spoke of the hoards which the Danes sought out and discovered "in concealment under ground" and "in the various solitudes (or secret places) belonging to Feens or to Fairies".

Ought "Fairies", then, to be identified with the "Feens" and "Pechts" of history and tradition? Everyone knows that the fairies were "little people" who lived in "hollow hills", and who possessed "supernatural power". We have already seen that, both in Scotland and in Northumberland, the Pechts are classed with the Fairies in the memory of the people. And from the brief references just made, one would be disposed at the first glance to say that the two names applied to one people. But all the people who form the subject of consideration in these pages belong, even in their most modern and most modified phases, to the past; and in looking down that long vista one is often deceived by the "foreshortening" effects of distance, which seems to unite what is really distinct and separate. Still, it is evident that "Fairies" have so many points in common with "Feens" and "Pechts" that they must all, at least, be classed together.[1]

The Gaelic accounts do not, of course, refer to the "Fairies" under that name. It is therefore unnecessary to add anything here to the many attempted solutions of the etymology of "Fairy". But the Gaelic records speak of these people as the *Fir Sithe*, or *Daoine Sithe*—the *Sithe*-folk. As already pointed out, this word is pronounced as if spelt *Shee* or *Sheeyĕ*. It is also written *Sidhe*, and this brings us to the older spelling before the dental had been aspirated out of existence. The older form of the word is *Side*, presumably pronounced as *Sheedĕ*. What are the conclusions arrived at with regard to these *Fir Sidhe?*

"We know now", says a recent writer, already quoted, "that the Sidhe were early peoples and their gods, incorporated into the following races. We find under the Arctic Circle, and among the Finns and other 'Altaic' or Turanian tribes of Russia, the same belief in 'Tshuds' or vanished supernatural inhabitants of the land, pointing to the same mixture of ideas we find in Ireland concerning dispossessed peoples of a different tongue but high civilisation, whose record remains only in legend. The 'shee' of Ireland is the same word we find in Asia, but softened down in pronunciation. Among the early Russians and Irish we can safely infer the Turanian underfolk with its myths and manners of life, its subterranean dwellings and repute as magicians; in both we

[1] In Ayrshire, according to Dr. Jamieson, *Fane* signifies "a fairy".

perceive remarkably clever members of the Finno-Ugrian women-folk gaining a power over chiefs of the conquering hordes, and going down into legend as supernatural Sidhes or Tshuds."[1] According to this writer, then, the "Fairies", whose treasures were seized by the Danes of Dublin in the ninth century, belonged to the Turanian or Finno-Ugrian race of the Tshuds. And the traditions current in Ireland and Scotland regarding the *Fir Sidhe*, are counterparts of those current in the north of Europe with regard to the *Tshuds*. It does not certainly tend to the simplification of a very complex question to discover that the North Europeans, who remember so much about those *Tshuds*, are the very people who, of all modern Europeans, seem to have most resemblance to the *Fir Sidhe*. In reviewing a recent collection of Lapp folk-tales, Mr. Ralston states that "the traditions relating to the constant struggle maintained between the Lapp aborigines and their foreign enemies" form an important portion of the collection. "The first nine stories all refer to the foes known as *Tsjuderne*, the *Tsjuder*—the Chudic Finns of the Baltic and other coasts. When these dreaded enemies appeared, the Lapps would take refuge in their underground retreats."[2] Thus, in accepting *Tshud* as identical with *Side* or *Sidhe*, we have to recognise that the people so *named* were the bitter foes of the very race that most resembles them—the "underground" folk of Lapland. Perhaps the explanation of this apparent contradiction is, that the fact of antagonism existing between two nations is no proof of any great racial difference between them.

To return, however, to the *Sidhe* people of the British Islands. The Blackwater valley of Leinster, whose "fairy" strongholds and abodes were entered and plundered by the ninth-century Danes, reminds one by its name that the Blackwater valley of Munster is also famous for its fairy associations. In one of Mr. William Black's novels (*Shandon Bells*) there are frequent references to a chief of the Fir Sidhe named *Fierna*,[3] who is remembered as the leader of the "little people" of the south-west. His chief residence appears to have been a certain *Knockfierin*, or Fierna's Hillock, which has perhaps been investigated by local archæologists. Several of the Limerick traditions relating to Fierna have been

[1] Mr. Charles de Kay, in *The Century* of July 1889, p. 437.

[2] See Mr. Ralston's review in *The Academy* of May 11, 1889.

[3] It is no doubt owing to the infusion of Spanish blood in southern Ireland, still visible in the complexion, as well as in the surnames (such as Costello and Jago, *i.e.*, Diego) of people in that neighbourhood, that this Fierna receives the most un-British title of "Don" prefixed to his name.

contributed by Mr. David Fitzgerald to the *Revue des Traditions populaires* (April 1889), and one of these tells how a mysterious stranger one night aroused a poor cripple and gave him a letter to take to Fierna. The messenger entered the fairy "hill", where he saw the chief—an old, white-bearded man. On reading the letter, Fierna declared it to be a challenge of battle on the part of the "King of the Sidhfir of the North"; a challenge which Fierna was loath to accept, because, as he explains, "my people of Munster are the weaker party".

This legend, then, shows the Fir Sidhe (or Sidhfir) as a people not always friendly to each other, although of kindred race. Moreover, it suggests that those of Ireland were divided into at least two sections—the Sidhfir of Munster and those of "the North". When we remember that in the ninth century "Feens and Fairies" were equally regarded as owners of the "underground" dwellings which were then plundered (and which still remain), it is noteworthy that in this very detail we have another parallel between the two castes —if they were two. For the "Feens" of Ireland were also divided into sections, and it may be remembered that two of these—"the Feens of Leinster and the east of Ulster", and those of "Connaught and the west of Ireland", were referred to on a previous page as engaged in building a famous hill-fort for their great leader, Fin. If the "Sidhfir of the North" were not the same as the Feens of Leinster and the east of Ulster, they occupied much of the same ground, and had so many points in common, that it is difficult to say wherein they differed.

Nor is this deduction at variance with the belief that the people just named were one with the Pechts of history. For the *Cruithné* of Ulster formed a distinct division of the Pechts; and, indeed, to be still more specific, were latterly associated with the *eastern* part of that province. And, as for internecine warfare, that forms no obstacle to the identification of the historical Pechts, in their later stages, with the *Sidhfir* of popular legend.

Like the rivers of the same name in Leinster and Munster, there is a Blackwater in Perthshire which has fairy traditions, and, in consequence, the valley through which it flows is known as Glenshee (*Gleann-sith*). It is also remembered as a favourite hunting-ground of the Feens. Here they used to come, says an ancient poem,[1] to chase the deer and elk. The stories of Fin and his Feens are full of references to their hunting exploits. And an

[1] *The Death of Diarmaid*, by Allan MacRuaridh. See the *Dean of Lismore's Book*, p. 30 (Eng. version), and p. 21 (Gaelic).

old poem[1] recites how, even while Ireland was chiefly peopled and ruled by another race, the ancient rights of the Feens, in this as in other respects, were still duly acknowledged. Fin, we are told,

> "possessed the old rights
> Which previously were his.
> From Hallowmass on to Beltin,
> His *Feens* had all the rights.
> The hunting without molestation,
> Was theirs in all the forests."

The "rights" possessed by these people between All Hallow-tide and Beltin, or from the first of November to the first of May, were, according to Keating,[2] that they were quartered upon the country-people, who had to support them during all that period. But from the first of May on to the first of November, the Feens were obliged to support themselves, which they did by hunting and fishing. It was during this latter period, therefore, that "the hunting without molestation was theirs in all the forests". Perhaps the expression "*all* the forests" is too comprehensive. Mr. J. F. Campbell, in referring to the Feens,[3] speaks of their "maintaining themselves by hunting deer, extensive tracts of land being allotted to them for that purpose". Perhaps, also, the word "forest" ought to be understood much in the way that "deer forest" now is.

"It was said at that time", says a West Highland tale,[4] "that Ireland was a better hunting-ground than the Scotch Highlands; that there were many great beamed deer in it, rather than in the Highlands. It was this which used to cause the Feens to be so often in Ireland." Nevertheless, the poem by Allan MacRuaridh, already referred to, states that the Perthshire Glenshee (or, rather, the more important of the two Perthshire glens so named) was famous as a hunting-ground of the Feens, for the reason that it abounded in "deer and elk". Whether the "elk" of the one writer, and the "great antlered deer" of the other, represent the same animal, or two separate species now extinct in these islands, is uncertain. In the account contributed to the (Old) Statistical Account of Scotland, the minister of the parish of Clunie, Perthshire, which is not very far from Glenshee, remarks (ix, 256-7, *note*): "The head of the urus has been dug up in this neighbourhood, as also the palmated horns of the elk, together with the horns and

[1] *Dean of Lismore's Book*, pp. 141-43 (Eng.) and 108-11 (Gaelic version).
[2] *History of Ireland;* Reign of Cormac Ulfada.
[3] *West Highland Tales*, I, xiii.
[4] The Lay of Osgar: *West Highland Tales*, III, 304-5.

skeletons of large deer, supposed to be the moose-deer."[1] One of the tales of the Feens, which is common from county Mayo to Sutherlandshire, says Mr. J. F. Campbell, has reference to the hunting of an animal called the *lon-dubh*, which word Mr. Campbell, on the suggestion of his collector (Mr. MacLean), believes ought to be translated "black elk". This "black elk", then, which the Feens used to hunt, was an animal of much greater size than the deer, on the testimony of these tales, told in the degenerate days when the "black elk" and its hunters had become only a memory. "These [tales] *may* date from the days when men hunted elks in Erin, as they now do in Scandinavia", says Mr. Campbell.[2] In which case, of course, the tales are very old. It is to be remembered, however, that at the battle of Gawra, and, indeed, long after that date, the Feens of Scandinavia were in association with those of Ireland and of Scotland; and traditions relating to animals long extinct in Britain might really refer to incidents in Scandinavia, within comparatively modern times. But, on the other hand, there is the visible testimony of the "palmated horns of the elk, together with the horns and skeletons of large deer, supposed to be the moose-deer", dug up in the very neighbourhood which is famous as a favourite hunting-ground of the Feens, where they came "to chase the deer and elk". The inference is, then, that either the tales which relate to that time are very old, or else that the animals referred to did not become extinct in these localities at a very remote date.

In the Introduction to his *West Highland Tales*, Mr. Campbell has several pages (ci-cix) in which he brings together, with much force, his reasons for believing that Fairies, Picts, and Lapps were practically one people. And one of his deductions, after a certain reference, is this: "Fairies, then, milked deer, as Lapps do." In this assumption, we may perhaps see a clue to the identification of the "large deer" hunted by the Feens, which may or may not have been the same as the elk. For the deer milked by Lapps is the reindeer. Even at the present day there is an abundance of reindeer-lichen on the higher mountains of Scotland, and there is therefore nothing in the physical characteristics of the place to interfere with Mr. Campbell's hypothesis that the fairy "herds of Glen Odhar" were herds of reindeer. The figure of the reindeer incised on the monumental stone near Grantown, in the same

[1] He adds: "Some of these horns, which are of an amazing size, are in the custody of the Duke of Athole, and of Mr. Farquharson of Invercauld."

[2] *Tales*, II, 107. The story referred to is on pp. 102-6.

quarter of Scotland (of which a representation is given on page 122 of Dr. Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*), may thus have been "drawn from life" at that very place.

"Hunting appears all along to have been a favourite amusement of the *Seelie Court*", says a writer on the fairies of Clydesdale,[1] "and innumerable are the stories which are told concerning the magnificence and splendour of the royal retinue." There is also a Highland tale[2] which describes how the dwarfs used to be seen "hunting on the sides of Ben Muich Dhui, dressed in green, and with silver-mounted bridles to their horses which jingled as they rode." And a writer of the seventeenth century tells[3] "how there was a King and Queen of Pharie, of such a Court, and train, as they had, and how they had the teind [tithe] and dutie, as it were, of all corn, flesh, and meale, how they rode and went alongs the sides of hills, all in Green apparel." That green was the special colour of the fairies, everybody knows. And that it was also the colour of the Feens is what certain sections of the people of modern Ireland do not allow one to forget.

Thus, in regarding these people as hunters, any distinction between "Feens and Fairies" seems to vanish altogether. Although it does not appear to be stated in so many words that the Feens "had the tithe and dutie, as it were, of all corns, flesh, and meale", yet the same fact is practically stated when we are told that, during the six months of autumn and winter, the Feens were kept in idleness by the people of the country ("billeted upon the country", as Keating has it), and this as a matter of right. The very dates upon which this period began and ended—Hallow-E'en and Walpurgis-night—are pregnant with "fairy" associations. And when the green-clad Feens, typified by their dwarf chief, had the exclusive right of hunting, during the spring and summer months, up till the end of October, over "extensive tracts of land allotted to them for that purpose", they could not have differed from those little people who are even yet remembered as "hunting on the sides of Ben Muich Dhui, dressed in green". And it was distinctly understood that this right was theirs "without molestation". There is a real matter-of-fact meaning in the ballad, placed in the mouths of people of a taller race, and relating to that period and those privileged hunters—

[1] *Scots Magazine*, vol. iii, 1818, p. 154.

[2] One of Miss Juliana Horatia Ewing's *Old-Fashioned Fairy Tales:* "The Laird and the Man of Peace."

[3] George Sinclair, in *Satan's Invisible World Discovered.*

"Up the airy mountain,
Down the rocky glen,
We daren't go a-hunting,
For fear of little men."

Of which the historical interpretation, as applied to Scotland, apparently is, that these popular traditions relate to the time when the Pechts, conquered by the Scots, who subsequently were reinforced by various later immigrant races, still retained a certain amount of independence, with special rights in certain districts, reserved to them as "Pecht lands". Their dwarfish stature is seen from the very word by which they are known, as well as from the dwellings they inhabited. Their small horses are spoken of in the earliest accounts of them,[1] and indeed still survive, though no doubt in blended forms, as the small breeds of Galloway, Shetland, and various parts of England. Their favourite colour gave them, in their earliest days, the title of Green Men or *Virides;* although then the colouring was applied in a more primitive fashion.

Apart from all the resemblances specially referred to, there is a general association in the popular mind between Pechts and Fairies. Both are regarded as extinct races, and the date of their disappearance, though vague, points to the one period; and localities known as the abodes of Pechts are also known as the abodes of Fairies. For example, an antiquary of that neighbourhood (Sir Herbert Maxwell) states that "the fortified promontory of the Mull [of Galloway] is locally believed to have been the last stronghold to which the Picts of Galloway retired before an overwhelming force of Scotic (?) invaders". In the same paper,[2] and referring to the same promontory, the writer specifies "a small fortification called the 'Dunnan', credited with having been a favourite haunt of the fairies". Again, the famous Pictish hill-fort in Forfarshire, known as the "White Cater Thun", is equally famous as a fairy stronghold. This celebrated fortress has been described on a previous page. It crowns a hill in the neighbourhood of the ancient city of Brechin, the centre of a district which was indisputably a territory of the Pechts. Even yet one may discern in the ruins of this fort the traces of the dwellings which so closely characterise the architecture of the Pechts, the chambers made within the thickness of the wall. Within the long elliptical enclosure of the

[1] See Ritson's *Annals of the Caledonians*, Edin. 1828, vol. i, p. 12 (quoted from Dion Cassius, l. 76, c. 12).

[2] Which appears in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1885-86, pp. 76-90.

White Cater Thun there are, indeed, faint traces of other buildings; but the great majority of its garrison must have been housed, after the fashion of the race, in the chambers that are traceable all along the actual rampart itself. And of this chambered fortress local tradition states that it was "the abode of fairies, and that a brawny witch carried the whole [of the stones] one morning from the channel of the West Water [a neighbouring river] to the summit of the hill, and would have increased the quantity but for the ominous circumstance of her apron-string breaking, while carrying one of the largest! This stone was allowed to lie where it fell, and is pointed out to this day on the north-east slope of the mountain! This tradition, it may be remarked", continues our authority,[1] "however *outré*, is curious from its analogy to that concerning the castles of Mulgrave and Pickering in Yorkshire, the extensive causeways of which are said to have been paved by genii named Wada and his wife Bell, the latter, like the Amazonian builder of Caterthun, having carried the stones from a great distance in her apron!" Among all the exaggeration and confusion of these statements two things are quite discernible—the identity of Pechts with fairies or other "supernaturals" in general—and (in particular) the identity of the descriptions given of people so denominated, in the region of Caterthun and of Yorkshire, and the descriptions of the Northumbrian Pechts as quoted on a previous page.[2] Indeed, the accounts given of the Pechts in the locality last-named, as well as some features of the traditional builders of Abernethy round-tower, render it impossible to distinguish, in these two cases, between "Pechts" and "Fairies", or "Witches". And this, indeed, as we have seen, was the popular belief.

The conclusion, therefore, to be drawn from what has been said upon this subject is that, although the term *Pict* or *Pecht* has been chosen by History as that by which a certain race of people, once found in Scotland, ought to be remembered, yet that term indicates nothing more than *Trow* or *Dwarf*, either of which names might as reasonably have been chosen as their synonym *Pecht*. And that when one speaks of *Pechts*, *Trows*, or *Dwarfs*, one is speaking of the same kind of people—the mound-dwellers, or "underground" races of the past. Further, that the people traditionally remembered in Shetland as *Finns* belonged to that group; as also those whom Gaelic folk-lore styles the *Feinne*. And that, along with many other popular terms not here enumerated, one of the names

[1] Mr. A. Jervise, *The Land of the Lindsays*, Edinburgh, 1853, p. 265.

[2] Page 185.

by which such people have been widely known is that of "the Fairies".

But, in drawing these inferences from the statements which have been made in the foregoing pages—perhaps with too much abruptness and too little amplification—there are two considerations which must not be left out. One is, that although it has been necessary, for several good reasons, to localise the question very much, it is by no means meant that the people under discussion ought to be restricted to the area which has been chiefly under our eyes, or that they have never been known to History except by the name which has been here adhered to. The other consideration is that the class of people generally spoken of as "supernatural" cannot be disposed of and classified so easily as some writers of the "realistic" school have seemed to think. There are many objections to be faced and explained before that can be done. Not that there is much difficulty presented by the quaint fancies of the poets and artists regarding the "little people", for these fancies did not arise until the little people had, in certain localities, become a mere memory, only really believed in by the classes that cling most to traditional history. Other stories and attributes of "the fairies" and their kindred are also explicable enough; the result, in some cases, of fear, imagination, and trickery, or, as in the cases of the "fairy ring" and "Jack o' lanthorn", the result of natural causes; although the last two examples are doubtless each rooted in an earlier characteristic of the fairies of flesh-and-blood. But when many such objections have been successfully encountered, there still remain others that cannot be explained in the same way. These need not be particularised here. But, in spite of all the difficulties of the kind referred to, the "realistic" theory has always at hand an obvious and infallible test of the general accuracy of its deductions.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN FRANCE.

THE new edition of the work in which M. D'Arbois de Jubainville discussed the early settlement of Europe[1] will excite the interest of scholars, and perhaps revive some keenly debated controversies. Twelve years ago, when the book first appeared, its author was recognised as the worthy successor of Lenormant and Zeuss in the investigation of the basis and beginnings of European history. What Zeuss did for the "Germans and their neighbours", the learned editor of the *Revue Celtique* has done for the Continental Celts. He was first drawn to the subject by the desire of explaining the strange force of the Celtic advance, which for a moment broke the power of Rome, and afterwards shook with its violence the civilised world of the Greeks. His plan was to illustrate the history of the invading tribes by a full description of their environment, to identify the peoples whom they thrust aside, or who succeeded in resisting their attack, and to show how far their power extended until they in turn had to retreat before other hordes pushing on to take part in the occupation of our continent. In the course of his work he made a collection of all the ethnological traditions which were preserved by the writers of antiquity, not only with regard to the Celts themselves, but with respect also to all the earlier occupiers of the Mediterranean region with whom they came into contact. He has, moreover, undertaken the task of tracing back the record of Aryan culture to the time when the forefathers of the chief nations of Europe were settled as an undivided people in the home where they rested so long after their tedious migration from Asia.

In this volume he deals only with the non-Aryan races who held the Mediterranean sea-board, and the first approach of the "Indo-European" vanguard, which preceded by many ages the arrival of the Celts and the Greeks. At the beginning of the work a gathering of old texts and traditions, and a summary after the method of Lucretius, shows us the squalid life of the cave-men in the Cyclopean age. "Wonderfully savage and miserably poor",

[1] *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe.* Par H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, 2de édition, tome premier (Thorin, Paris, 1889).

the Troglodytes dwelt in the clefts of the rocks, without any knowledge of building or the use of metals. Like the Fenni in the North, "they had no horses, and no homes", and their hope of life was in the arrows, "which for lack of iron they sharpened with tips of bone." The picture of the cave-dwellers' life is followed by a glimpse at the fabulous glories of Atlantis, from which myriads of warriors came to meet in arms "Busiris and his Memphian chivalry"; but, many ages before Plato told the tale, "the island disappeared and sank beneath the sea, and that is why in those parts the sea is impassable and impenetrable, because there is so much shallow mud in the way, caused by the sinking of the island." We pass to the traditions of the half-forgotten Iberians, for whom so many writers have desired to find a birth-place in "Atlantis". According to the story of the Egyptian priests, which Socrates told in the *Timæus*, the walls of Athens formed the only barrier to stay the inroads of the armies from Iberia. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville is inclined to give almost as wide a scope to the Iberian dominions. In accordance with a hypothesis, which has perhaps been too lightly adopted, he gives them the British Isles and all the western coasts of the Continent, Spain, and Italy, and the islands between, and even some parts of Greece. The Sicanians, in his view, were Iberians established on the banks of the Seine: "Les Sicanes d'Italie ont dû venir de Gaule, le Sicanos serait la Seine, appelée Sêquana par les Gaulois, qui aurait conservé en ce nom un mot antérieur à la période indo-européenne." If we put Plato's romance on one side, we shall find that there is really hardly anything known about the Iberian race. Herodorus, the mythologist, who is believed to have been contemporary with Plato, is cited as saying, in his "Story of Hercules", that the Iberians of the Spanish coast were all of one race, though the tribes had different names. But Strabo's account of the whole peninsula, which was founded on the personal explorations of Posidonius, shows us an assemblage of peoples using different languages and alphabets, with an extraordinary diversity of religious belief and social customs, which must make it very doubtful whether they could ever have formed a single nation, or founded a homogeneous and widely extended empire. A little more is known of the Pelasgians, who seem to have spread from Lydia over Greece and Thrace, and perhaps as far as Italy. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville holds that they established themselves in Apulia as early as the time of the advance of the Aryans into Southern Europe, and that a thousand years later another branch of the same stock became established in

Etruria. The story of the rise and decadence of the Etruscan power is told with a force and precision which has not been equalled by any preceding account of the mysterious "Rasena".

In his second book he has endeavoured, by the patient comparison of languages and ancient customs, to trace the Aryan settlers to their home in the east of Europe, where they may have remained for many centuries. The great separation of the Indo-European race is thought to have taken place about 2,500 years before the commencement of our era. One tribe, or group of tribes, must have chosen for its abode the valleys of the Hindoo-Koosh and "the slopes of high Pamir"; others spread gradually along the plains as far as the Ural range, and crossing the mountains and the wide stream of the Volga, may have established their new settlements between the Baltic and the valley of the Danube. The researches of philologists have shown us that a considerable advance in civilisation must have been attained before the separation occurred. The Aryans of all the groups were organised in communities under a patriarchal system of government. They knew how to build houses with hearths and doors and windows: they had flocks and herds, and horses for their waggons, and could fence their homesteads against wild beasts; and they were especially distinguished by the art of weaving and spinning wool and linen for their clothes. The group which chose our continent for a home appear to have excelled especially in the knowledge of agriculture. In the languages which have separated like dialects from one archaic form of speech we find many old terms used in connection with ploughings, and the culture of grain-crops and vegetables, which are not found in the Aryan languages of Asia. The picturesque account of the arrival of one of the leading hordes would only be spoiled in a translation. "Vêtus d'étoffes de laine, le cou orné de colliers d'or et de bronze, la main armée d'épées de bronze et de couteaux de pierre, ils étaient assis dans leurs chars, que trainaient les bœufs et des chevaux sous le joug, et des troupeaux de vaches, de moutons, de chèvres, de cochons et d'oies, les accompagnaient. Ils dressèrent leurs maisons de bois dans la vallée de Danube, dans les régions qui devaient être un jour l'empire d'Autriche et l'Allemagne, et au grand étonnement des sauvages indigènes de ces contrées, tracèrent dans ce sol encore vierge les premiers sillons de la charrue."

The Aryans who thus became established in Europe are supposed to have separated into three groups or subdivisions about 2,000 years before the Christian era. The first, and the earliest to advance

across the Danube, may be called the Thracian group. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville considers that this set of tribes included not only the ancestors of the Thracians of Europe and Asia Minor, but the Illyrians and the Ligurians, who eventually occupied the Mediterranean coast from Genoa to the neighbourhood of the Ebro. The second principal group of nations, with whose history we are not yet concerned, will be found to comprise the peoples who became the progenitors of the Hellenic and Italiot races, as well as of the several branches of the wide-spreading Celtic stock. In his next volume the author will deal minutely with the vexed questions of the dispersion of the last-named race, and will attempt the solution of the problems arising from the ready fusion of the Celtic tribes with Iberians in Spain, and with the Ligurians as "Celto-Ligyes" in the south of Gaul, and will also endeavour to explain the admixture of the Iapodes of the Adriatic coast with Celtic and Illyrian elements. The Germans and Slavs form the chief members of the remaining group, which, many centuries afterwards, spread over the centre of Europe, and occupied the ground left bare by the dispersion of the Celts.

So little is known of the ancient Ligurians, except the strange customs reported by Posidonius and a few legends of Hercules which seem rather to belong to the Celtic mythology, that we can hardly form any exact opinion about their Aryan origin. Much the same must be said about the Albanian mountaineers, if they are indeed the descendants of the ancient Illyrians. But the subject is very obscure, and we must await the results of the patient investigation of the Illyrian inscriptions which is now being carried on in Northern Italy. With regard to the Thracian stock, a little more seems to be known, or to be conjectured, with some hope of arriving at a certain conclusion. The legendary kingdom of Midas extended from the gold mines beyond Macedonia to the furthest limits of Phrygia and Bithynia; and the opinion is gradually coming into favour that the Thracians first brought the Aryan culture into Greece, and afterwards extended their conquests into the western parts of Asia Minor, perhaps about a thousand years before the beginning of our era.

M. Fustel de Coulanges[1] has now brought out another instalment of his great work on the history of feudalism. In a previous volume he discussed, under the modest title of an inquiry into "Certain Historical Problems", the tenure of the Roman *colonus*, the

[1] *Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France.* Par Fustel de Coulanges. *La Monarchie Franque.* (Hachette, Paris, 1888.)

system of agriculture known to the ancient Germans, and the judicial organisation of the Frankish kingdoms. One of his chief points was to show the weakness of the evidence by which a popular school of historians endeavoured to show that the judicial system of the Franks was borrowed from the institutions of the free Germans, as described by Tacitus. The present volume is concerned with the Merovingian monarchy, and its relations on the one side to the Roman methods of government, and on the other to the ancient customs by which the power of the German kings had been controlled. The history of private institutions, the incidents of free or allodial tenure, and the growth of the system of "*Beneficia*", under which lands and offices were granted in return for personal service, are reserved for a later portion of the work. The period over which the inquiry extends does not coincide with the whole existence of the Merovingian dynasties, but covers a space of about 180 years, from the point when the whole of Gaul had come under the sway of the Merovingian kings to the time when their power was really, though not nominally, extinct. Passing over the period of gradual conquest, we may say that the Merovingian power was actually established in the year 506. The race of "long-haired kings" was not extinguished until the middle of the eighth century; but after the year 687 they bore only a nominal sway, under the control of mayors of the palace. In examining the history of this period of nearly two centuries, M. Fustel de Coulanges has passed in review the minutest details of the chronicles, the codes of law, and the public and private documents which have survived to our own time. The methods of patient investigation which ensured such a brilliant success to his work on *La Cité Antique* have now been applied to a far more complicated problem. The task of determining the proportion of Roman and barbarian elements in that civilisation which prepared the way for the Carolingian empire, however difficult it may be, must be faced before the origin of the feudal system can be explained. If feudalism, as some have supposed, was the outcome of purely Teutonic institutions, its beginnings ought to be revealed by a close examination of the "documents" of the Merovingian history. It has often been said, indeed, that the Merovingian kings did actually grant their domains to soldiers, who held them by a precarious tenure in return for service in war. But when the contemporary evidence is examined, we find that this story breaks down. "Il est tout à fait inexact", says M. de Coulanges, "que les rois aient concédé leurs domaines en bénéfices à leurs guerriers, inexact que

les guerriers aient retenu ces terres malgré les rois, inexact que les rois mérovingiens aient perdu leurs domaines, inexact que leur impuissance soit venue de ce qu'ils les eussent aliénées. Toute cette théorie, si ingénieuse qu'elle soit, ne supporte pas le contact des documents." The truth seems to be, that the feudal system originated at a later time in an adaptation of the personal service due to the Teutonic king or chieftain from his faithful followers to the Roman notion of the dual ownership of land.

The discussion as to the source of the Frankish civilisation has a special interest for Englishmen. We have, in this country, to contend with a favourite theory that there was an absolute continuity in our insular institutions from the fall of the Roman power into mediæval times. In some parts of Europe, and certainly in some parts of France, continuity of this kind may be traced. But with regard to our own country it seems certain that we derived our legacies of imperial culture from the Continental kingdoms of the Franks. Even our English forms of kingship are said to have been derived from the same source; the Franks having learned, as soon as they occupied the country round Cambray, to choose kings from their noblest family "to rule their states and shires". M. de Coulanges admits the fact of this first election. He denies, however, that the monarchy continued to be in any sense elective during the period which he has chosen for examination. The English kings seem to have gradually extended their power as the fall of the lesser states led to the conception of a territorial sovereignty; the dignity of the consecrated monarch grew in proportion to the decadence of the old nobility, and the rise of the thanes or "nobles by service". The right of the English people to elect their kings was kept up theoretically, though the choice may have been restricted to a selection of some member of a particular family; but among the Franks under the Merovingians the principle of popular election seems to have disappeared almost as soon as royalty was established. When Clovis died, we are told, his four sons took the kingdom and divided it in equal shares. When one of the sons died, his brothers killed the infant heirs, and again divided the inheritance. When Childebert died without issue, his brother "took his kingdom and treasure for himself". It appears, indeed, as if the monarchy was treated as being subject to the ordinary law of division among sons, like any private inheritance. We have got far away from "the choice of the king" which Tacitus found among the peoples of ancient Germany. We might indeed go further, and say that the national councils themselves, at which all popular

questions had once been decided, appear to have fallen into complete desuetude among the Romanised Franks in Gaul. Those who see the beginnings of a Parliament in the annual inspection of the army on the *Champs de Mars*, have thought that a series of national assemblies might be traced through the 6th century, and even beyond that time. M. de Coulanges, after considering the authorities, is of opinion that this is a mere mistake. "L'usage des assemblées nationales, telles que Tacite les avait décrites en Germanie, n'a pas été transporté en Gaule par les Francs. Il n'y a pas eu au sixième siècle d'assemblées franques." He would probably not contest the fact that there were great popular assemblies for judicial purposes, such as M. Beaudouin has recently described in his work on the participation of the freemen in judicial work under the Frankish law.[1]

The king appears to have been the only source of legislative authority, although the laws are in some cases promulgated under the advice of the Council, or the "great men of the Palace". There is, we may add, no sign of any distinction between the authority exercised by the Merovingian kings over the several nationalities among their subjects. The Franks and "Romans" seem to have equally acknowledged the absolute and despotic power of the Crown. The king, indeed, was styled "Rex Francorum", and did not claim the territorial dignity of a king of Neustria or Austrasia. But, with the exception of this single survival from antiquity, we can hardly find any similarity betwen the Merovingian monarch and the soldier-kings of the age of Arminius and Maroboduus. The Merovingians, in fact, endeavoured in all things to ape the majesty of Rome, or at least to imitate as best they could the glories of the court of Ravenna and the magnificence of the Visigoths at Bordeaux. From the days of Clovis they had borrowed the titles of the Roman officials in Gaul. They wore the chlamys and the purple tunic. Of one of them it was said that he took Cæsar's place, "tanquam consul aut Augustus, imponens vertici diadema". They imitated the Byzantine luxury of the golden-throned Emperors of the East, and were addressed in servile phrases as "Gloria Vestra" and "Sublimitas Tua". M. de Coulanges carries out the analogy into the minutest details. "Ils rétablirent les jeux du cirque et s'y montrèrent en spectacle à la population. Ils appelaient leur trésor du nom de 'Fiscus', comme les empereurs, ou encore 'Sacellum Publicum', et, comme les empereurs encore,

[1] *La Participation des Hommes Libres au Jugement dans le Droit Franc.* Par E. Beaudouin. Paris, Larose, 1888.

ils désignaient quelquefois leurs lettres par le mot 'Oracula'. Enfin leur palais était le Sacrum Palatium." The officers of their court were known by the same titles as the courtiers whose duties are described in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, and were clad, like them, in silken robes with belts of gold and precious stones. The palace, with its Prefect and Master of the Horse, its Count of the Sacred Patrimony, and a crowd of chamberlains and notaries, can have been nothing but a close copy of the imperial court from which these titles were derived. It is curious to note that even the celebrated office of Mayor of the Palace, to which the regal power was in time transferred, was itself in all probability a legacy from the Empire. The "Cura Palatii", to which Sidonius referred as the crown of a courtier's career, and the "Prefecture of the Palace", which existed under Justinian and his successors in the Eastern empire, were apparently the sources in which the Mayoralty of the Palace originated. When we come to consider the administration of justice, the jurisdiction of the "Rachimburgs", the judicial combat, and the system of compurgation by the oaths of interested witnesses, we seem to come upon German ground again. The ancient codes of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks are especially Teutonic in character, and we do not find that the character of the laws was much altered by the edicts and rescripts of the kings. This is what we might have expected, since popular notions of law and personal rights depend very little on the opinion of the ruling powers, and are determined rather by long custom and usage. But as to the whole character of the government of France during the selected period, it certainly seems as if M. de Coulanges has proved his case. On the one hand, he finds nothing but the bare elements of feudalism; on the other, he sees a method of government quite foreign to the ideas of the ancient Germans. What he does find is the system of the Roman Empire in a degraded form, administered by barbarians, and decaying gradually from a general disorder of society without any shock of sudden revolution. "Le gouvernement mérovingien est, pour plus des trois quarts, la continuation de celui que l'empire romain avait donné à la Gaule."

CHARLES ELTON.

THE BORROWING THEORY.

MR. NUTT'S remarks on the Borrowing Theory in relation to my Archaian Theory, in the *Archæological Review* for September, are so clear and pointed that I shall have no excuse if I am not also clear and pointed in the reply which I trust that I may be permitted to make. But let me say that I entitle this Paper "The Borrowing Theory" simply because Mr. Nutt refers to my Theory under that name. For myself I wholly repudiate the term. The Borrowing Theory is, in fact, but a theory by means of which the partisans of the current Spontaneous Development Theory, as I shall take leave to call it, help out their explanations. According to the current theory, a Savage myth in, say Hellenic Mythology, is a "survival" of primitive Aryan culture, and a foreign God a "loan" from some such foreign traders, for instance, as the Phœnicians. But though people borrow good stories, they do not, I believe, borrow Gods, save very exceptionally. And the exceptions will be found, I think, to strengthen the probability of the generality of the law. The Christian God genuinely "borrowed" by the Negroes of the Gold Coast, though adapted by the people under the name of Nana-Nyankapon, "Lord of the Sky", was not looked on with favour by the priests of the native Deities, and has, therefore, got no established worship.[1] And speaking generally, the mythological facts which it is attempted to explain by theories of "survival", and of borrowing", not only, as I think, can, but must, be explained as resulting from such ethnological facts as the superimposition of different racial strata. Just as Psychology is now correlated with Physiology, Mythology must be correlated with Ethnology. Nothing in the known history of mankind has been more singularly permanent than Ethnological type, not physical only, but intellectual. It is not, therefore, the intellectual development of a Race, "survivals" of the earlier stages, and "borrowings", but a mixed Ethnology, that gives a mixed Mythology. In a word, people do not borrow, but inherit, their gods. And hence, rather than have my theory of Mythology called a "Borrowing Theory", I should prefer to have it called a Mixed Descent Theory.

[1] *See* Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 24-30.

But the current and the proposed Theories of Mythology are really founded on different conceptions of "Primitive Culture". According to current notions, "Primitive Culture" is represented generally by existing Savages, and without taking note either of racial mixture or historical influence, I venture to affirm, on the contrary, that this is not only a wholly unverified, but an utterly unhistorical assumption; and that the only "Primitive Culture" of which we know anything is that arising from the contact of Colonists, *not* Savages, with savage Aborigines, living, according to the tradition of these Colonists,[1] ατακτως και ωσπερ τα θεριά, "lawlessly, and after the manner of beasts". The current theory assumes development and the origin of new stages of culture in a spontaneous, or at least quite indefinitely conditioned portion. I affirm, on the contrary, that the indispensable condition of development and of the origin of new stages of culture, is the conflict of Higher and Lower Races. Darwin and Wallace converted an unscientific into a scientific Theory of Organic Evolution, not by discovering a law, but by pointing out the consequences of a fact—the struggle for existence. And I venture to think that hardly less important with reference to a scientific theory of Social Evolution will be due recognition of the consequences of the fact of the struggle of Higher White with Lower Coloured and Black Races.

1. I must, however, now proceed to reply in order to the more important queries and statements of Mr. Nutt. "We are told" by Dr. K. Krohn, says Mr. Nutt, "how the Finns got this or that idea from the Scandinavians, the latter from the Greeks, they from the Egyptians, and *they*—whence? From the *Archaian White Race*, Mr. Stuart-Glennie would perhaps say?"

The Egyptians—that is to say, the ruling class, the initiators of Egyptian civilisation—were themselves the main ancient branch of that demonstrably, not in antiquity only, but still, at the present day, world-wide-spread stock of White Races, which can be classed neither as Aryan, nor as Semitic.

2. "But did the latter *invent* the idea?" queries Mr. Nutt.

Whether certain theological myths and historical traditions were invented by those Non-Semitic and Non-Aryan White Races (called by me, for the sake of brevity, Archaian White Races) who were the founders of the Egyptian and Chaldean civilisations some eight or ten thousand years ago; or whether these myths and traditions were invented by some other race or races; this we

[1] See *Bérossos*, χαλδαίκα.

know, that no variants of these myths and traditions are comparable in antiquity with those found in the literatures of the Old Egyptian and Old Chaldean Empires—Empires whose Historic Period, certainly in the case of Egypt at least, goes back to 5000, or even, according to Maspero now, 5500 B.C., *antecedent to which* there was a so-called Mythical Age, of which, however, monuments still exist, and which, above all, appears already to have possessed written records.[1]

3. "Upon what does the tortoise stand?—I coined", says Mr. Nutt, "for this Borrowing Theory, the epithet 'revelationist'; the epithet has been cavilled at, but nothing has been suggested in its place. For be it noted, the theory implies that somewhere, to some one particular gifted race, the mass of ideas which underlie, and are the raw material of myth, was *revealed*."

By no means—only that certain typical forms of myth and tradition, instead of being invented by all, were invented by one.

4. "If the *Archaian White*, or any other race", continues Mr. Nutt, "could, by the exercise of its mental and material faculties, originate and develop a system of myth, why should this capacity be restricted to it alone?"

There is no question as to the restriction of mythopœic faculty, but only to the restriction of mythopœic form; and this, because it appears to be in the highest degree improbable, nor on merely *a priori*, but on *a posteriori* grounds, that races with different brain-pans, and brains, ran similar fancies, quite independently into similar moulds.

5. Proceeding "to briefly restate the opposing theory", Mr. Nutt says, "every human race has at one time passed, or is at present passing, through a definite stage of culture, the distinguishing features of which, on the mental side, are best described by the term animistic."

I venture to affirm, after long study, and with a whole volume of collected facts to appeal to, that this assertion of an identity of spontaneous development in all human Races, Black, Coloured, and White, is not only opposed to the fundamental principles of the Darwinian theory of the Origin of Species, but to the vast mass of facts that point to quite different original conceptions of things, or *Weltanschauungen*, by the different Species, or as Darwin and Huxley respectively prefer to say, "Subspecies", or "Permanent Modifications" of mankind; though, of course, among every race now one may find traces of ways of thinking as mixed as their blood.

[1] See Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, t. iii.

And I will further venture to add, that never has a more unnecessary and disastrous term been introduced into science than that of "Animism", confusing as it does two perfectly distinct notions, that of *Fetishism*, in which things are conceived as *themselves* living, and that of *Spiritism*, in which things are conceived as influenced, or, it may be, dwelt-in by *spirits* of which the existence is partially or completely independent of the things influenced, or dwelt-in.

6. "It cannot be asserted", continues Mr. Nutt, "that definite social conditions necessarily accompany this mental state, but, as a matter of fact, the two great institutions of Matriarchalism and Totemism are frequently found in combination with it."

As to Matriarchalism, it is now, I think, generally admitted that none of the theories of its origin hitherto proposed afford satisfactory explanation; and I have ventured to raise the question whether a satisfactory explanation may not be afforded by the theory of its origin derived from my general Archaian theory, namely, that mother-rule, or the acknowledged superiority of women, with its various privileges of numerous husbands, etc., naturally originated in the actual superiority of women, that is to say, in the superiority of the women of a superior White Race, settling in territory occupied by lower Coloured and Black Races, whom the higher White Races so subdued by virile force and feminine fascination as to impose on them the civilising bonds of social, religious, and political institutions.

7. "The forms in which the mythopœic faculty embodies itself, forms necessarily derived from the social condition of the race, show great sameness, owing", says Mr. Nutt, "to the widespread prevalence of certain customs."

But whence this certainly unquestionable fact of "the widespread prevalence of certain customs" among the most diverse Coloured and Black Races? Whence, but from the equally "widespread prevalence", as proved by the facts and authorities I have cited in various papers, the equally "widespread prevalence" of those Non-Semitic and Non-Aryan White Races, the founders, in Egypt and Chaldea, of civilisations in which we find side by side with the customs of a higher culture, those very matriarchal and totemistic "customs" more particularly referred to?

8. "A mythic protoplasm", Mr. Nutt tells us, "is common to all humanity, but worked up in its own way by each race, and the final outcome depends very much upon the stage of culture reached by the race when its mythology becomes fixed."

But how is any "stage of culture" reached by any race? That

is the point which none of the works on the Origin of Civilisation with which I am acquainted condescend to explain. They seem all to take for granted a *spontaneous* development, which I venture to think not only unverifiable as a fact, but unscientific as an hypothesis. But my Archaian theory is not so much a mere theory of the origin of Civilisation, as a co-ordination of the facts and traditions which, thus co-ordinated, reveal, not only what the dates, and what the localities, but what the conditions of the origin of Civilisation actually were. And the master-condition of all—as revealed not only by sculptured and painted portraits, but by the skulls, nay, by the mummies of the very men themselves, the initiators of Civilisation, and also, hardly less importantly, by the traditions of these men as to the origin of Civilisation—the master-condition of all was the action of physically, morally, and mentally higher, on physically, morally, and mentally lower, Races. Hitherto, Chinese Civilisation has appeared to countenance this theory of spontaneous development; but this, as hitherto imagined, immemorial and isolatedly developing civilisation, has been now definitely proved by Professor De Lacouperie[1] to have originated in an Eastern immigration about 2300 B.C. from Elam, an immigration which carried with it, in myths and institutions, seeds from that ancient Chaldean Civilisation which had, by that time, been inherited also by the Semitic Babylonians. And I believe that, in a forthcoming volume, I shall be able yet more fully to prove that, in a westward immigration, carrying with them the seeds of Civilisation from the same primæval nursery in the Euphrates valley, as also in the Nile valley, the Classic Civilisations of Europe originated. Nor, if one succeeds in thus explaining the origin of the Civilisations of China and of Europe, is it, I think, likely that one will be baffled in similarly explaining the origins of all other Civilisations. In a word, I venture to think that due recognition of the contemporary fact of the world-wide distribution among Coloured and Black Races of non-Semitic and non-Aryan, yet both physically and mentally highly endowed White Races, together with due recognition of the historical fact that quite certainly the founders of the Egyptian, and most probably, if not, as yet, quite certainly, the founders of the Chaldean Civilisation, belonged to this primitive White Stock[2]—

[1] See his *Languages of China before the Chinese*, and a long series of Papers in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record.*

[2] In concluding a notice of my Paper on *The Traditions of the Archaian White Races* (*Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*), Professor Sayce thus writes: "At all events it is now certain that the Old Egyptians belonged to the White Race, Virchow's researches having satisfactorily settled the question; and it is highly probable that the Akkadians did so too." (*Academy*, 3rd August 1889, p. 74.)

due recognition of these two facts will form the basis of what we have assuredly not hitherto been furnished with—a scientific theory of the Origin of Civilisation and of "stages of culture".

9. Summing up the whole question, Mr. Nutt thus concludes: "It is contended that the underlying similarity of all mythologies is not due to their being more or less changed copies of one original exemplar, but to their having originated in one special stratum of the mental and social development of mankind."

That "the mental and social development of mankind", in all its "Permanent Modifications"—Black, Coloured, and White—has ever shown a spontaneous identity, even "in one special stratum", is, I submit, just the point to be proved, and a point which it will be found, I believe, very difficult indeed to prove. To maintain that such Deitistic races as the White-skins everywhere are, and have been, were once such Demonistic races as the Coloured-skins even still predominantly are, as they have immemorially been, or were once such Fetichistic races as the Black-skins even still predominantly are, as they have immemorially been,[1] must imply, to everyone versed in the new physio-psychology, that the White-skins once *were* Coloured-skins and once *were* Black-skins. Now, the question may doubtless be for long yet incapable of a definitive solution; but if one explicitly recognises this, one may perhaps justifiably add an opinion as to what appears to one the probabilities. I venture to say, therefore, that the probabilities arising from all the various relevant facts appear to me to point to an *original* evolution of, at least, two different but correlated anthropoid offshoots, in, at least, two different habitats, and in, at least, two different environments, and that in accordance with what I believe will be found to be a General Law of correlative Origins. But if one maintains that Whites have passed through "stages of culture" identical with those in which Blacks now are, or have been, found, all these probabilities as to original diversity of origin must be ignored, and one must maintain that a White is but a blanched Black, or that a Black is a dyed White.

If one asks, therefore, whence the Archaian White Race derived those higher faculties of all kinds, of which, and of the splendid results of which, we find them already possessed on their first entrance on the arena of history, eight or ten thousand years

[1] Very instructive with respect to the Deities, or Greater Gods, found among other than White Races, are the remarks of Major Ellis on the borrowed negro God Nana-Nyankapon above referred to, p. 216, note. *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 28.

ago ; there are, in the present state of our knowledge, these two possibly maintainable answers : either that they were blanched Blacks, or, as their own primæval traditions with one voice affirm, that they were of another and higher descent altogether. According to these same traditions, the Egyptians and Chaldeans of this Archaian White Species, or "Permanent Variety", were elder brothers of the Semites and Aryans. In corroboration of these primæval traditions, recent research has located the origin of the Semites in Northern Arabia, where there were certainly the racial and other conditions of a modification of the Archaian Stock ; and recent research also tends to locate the origin of the Aryans either, as I have suggested, in the mid-sea mountainland of the Caucasus, or as others—and as, out of deference to Professor Sayce, I shall say—more verifiably perhaps, contend, on the eastern and western shores of the Baltic ; but, in either case, in a region where there would be apt conditions for a modification of the Archaian Stock differing greatly from the Semitic modification. And I may add that, whatever the Primitive Centre of Origin and of Dispersion of the Aryans may have been, it seems tolerably certain that Trans-oxiana was, at least, the secondary centre of Dispersion of the Eastern, and thence the secondary centre of Dispersion of the Western Branch. And this is all that is of really historical importance with reference to the origin of the Aryan Civilisation, Asiatic and European.

J. S. Stuart Glennie.

THE HUNDRED OF SWANBOROUGH.

IT would probably surprise most people to learn that an officer of an antiquity so immemorial as the Alderman of a rural Hundred was still, in at least one instance, annually appointed down to the year 1860. In a paper on "The Hundred of Swanborough, Sussex", contributed to vol. xxix of the *Sussex Archæological Collections* (1879), by the late Mr. J. Cooper, some extracts relating to this Hundred are quoted from Rowe's *Survey of Lord Bergavenny's Manors and Lordships*, 1597-1622. It will be seen that some of its customs are of a very interesting and archaic character.

This Hundred consisted of three parishes, Kingston, Iford, and (St. Anne's) Westout, adjacent to Lewes. It had, as usual, two courts, the half-yearly Court Leet, held at Kingston in the seventeenth century, but eventually at Lewes, and the three-weekly Court, held at Lewes. Its officers were: (1) the Alderman; (2) the Constable; (3) the three "Headboroughs", one for each parish. These officers "were chosen annually" at the Court Leet, but the mode of electing the Alderman is not mentioned. The Constable and the Headboroughs were chosen in the customary manner, the Leet jury presenting two names for each office to the steward of Lord Abergavenny, who presided over the Court Leet, and selected one of the two to fill each office. No Headboroughs were appointed after 1842, but the Alderman and Constable were still chosen till 1860.

The most interesting feature about this Hundred is the payment of the Alderman for his services, by sheaves of wheat. The passage in the *Survey* runs thus:

"The Alderman of this Hundred (as a recompence of his paynes, and in satisfaction of those moneys w^{ch} he disburseth for the Hundred at the Shiriffes torne twice every yeare) is to have in Kingston by auncyent custome in sheafes of wheate as followeth, viz. of 16 yardes of landes late Cranes, now the Earle of Dorsetts, 2 (sheaves)," etc., etc.

In all he received from 69½ "yardes" (*i.e.*, yardlands, "virgatæ") in Kingston, 14 sheaves a year, and from 16 "yardes" in Iford, 5 sheaves. This payment must have been commuted for money by the middle of the 17th century, for we find in the Parliamentary

Survey of 1651 that "the rent due, and payable from the inhabitants within the aforesaid Hundred, called the Alderman's fines, is per annum 2*s.* 6*d.*"

The Aldermen of Sussex Hundreds are referred to in a passage on the Hundred Rolls (quoted by Dr. Stubbs), relative to the Honour of Pevensey: "Et hundreda baroniæ (de Aquila) dant ad auxilium Vicecomitis £9 17*s.* 6*d.* per quod barones et milites totius baroniæ quieti sunt de secta ad comitatum, salvis Aldermannis Hundredorum qui faciunt sectam ad comitatum pro hundredo" (*Rot. Hund.*, ii, 204, 205). This officer is also referred to as "Bedellus qui vocatur Aldreman, qui dat pro balliva suæ quatuor marcas, et nihil habet de certo de que possit dictam firman levare, nisi quod poterit extorquere a populo sibi subdito et injuste" (*ib.*, ii, 214). In the Custumals of Battle Abbey (ed. Camden Society) we find an entry, under the Manor of Wye (pp. 124, 125), referring to the "Albus Redditus Domini Regis de quo Abbas nichil habebit, set ballivus tantum ad opus Domini Regis levabit." To this "Albus Redditus" nine vills contribute, the total render being 14*s.* 3*d.* Of this we read: "Inde Vicecomiti xiiii sol.; Bedello, pro labore collectæ faciendæ, iii den." In this "Bedellus" again we may see the rural Alderman. In the case of the Hundred of Swanborough, its three vills ("Burrowes") paid respectively eight shillings, eight shillings, and six shillings and twopence. Thus the total "Common Fine" of the Hundred was £1 2*s.* 6*d.* annually. The payment to the Alderman of the Hundred is always mentioned in conjunction with this common fine.

In the Domesday of St. Paul's we have valuable evidence (in the Survey of 1181) of these double payments (*a*) to the Sheriff, (*b*) to the Officer ("prepositus") of the Hundred, thus:

Manor.	To Sheriff. £	*s.*	*d.*	To Hundredman.	*s.*	*d.*
Kadendon	1	0	0			
Kenesworth	1	0	0			
Ardeley	1	0	0			
Sandon	2	0	0			
Beauchamp		4	0		5	0
Wickham		4	0		3	0
Eadwulfsness... ...		10	0		5	0
Heybridge		4	0		4	0
Tillingham		9	4		6	8
Barling					3	0
Runwell		4	0		4	0
Norton					1	0
Navestock		3	4		8	0

Manor.	To Sheriff. s. d.	To Hundredman. s. d.
Chingford	5 0	
Barnes	5 4	 [1]
Drayton	5 0	
Sutton	3 0	

All these manors, except the four first and three last, are in Essex. But here, though the payments to the *Sheriff* may be parallel to those in the Swanborough case, the sums paid to the officer of the *Hundred* are clearly of a different character. It is evident, moreover, from this Survey, that both these classes of payment were, in the twelfth century, of a very unsettled character, and liable to attempts at extortion.

Below the "Alderman" of the Hundred were the three elected "Headboroughs". These officers collected the "Common Fine" from their respective "boroughs", and were responsible for their quota. It is noteworthy that at Kingston the sums due from the contribuant "yardes" amounted to only *6s.*, while the quota to be paid was *8s.* Accordingly :

"The residue of the common fine being 11*s.*, the Jury at a Law-day in Sept. 44 Eliz. tooke order that the hedborowe in liewe thereof should have a bullocke leaze in Kingston gratis. But afterwards, mislikinge that course, all the Jury under their hands at a law-day holden 11th April 1 Jac. (I) ordered that for the said 11*s.* residue of the common fine and towards the hedborowes paynes, the hedborowes should receive yearely," etc., etc.[2]

The above instance is a useful warning against precipitate assumptions that the payment of a village officer by an allotment of land is a remnant, where found, of primitive "Aryan" custom.

[1] "Dicunt se tempore guerre dedisse vicecomiti v solidos et iiii den., et ii summas siliginis et i ædei dederunt ballivis hundredi" (p. 145).

[2] In Iford the "hedborowe" had similarly a balance to the good allowed him for his "paynes".

J. H. Round.

REVIEW.

HENRY VIII AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES. AN ATTEMPT TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF THEIR SUPPRESSION. By F. AIDAN GASQUET, Monk of the Order of St. Benedict. Vol. II, 1889, pp. viii, 611. With Maps.[1]

IN the present bulky volume the indefatigable author pursues his voluminous researches to the completion of his story. Amid the great mass of material before his hand, the difficulty must have been considerable to make his way, what to choose and what to reject; and if we have a fault to find, it is that the wealth of circumstances somewhat impedes the flow of his narrative, the different points and divisions of which scarcely appear with sufficient distinctness. But "I have steadily resisted", says the author, "the temptation to make use of many incidents which would have added interest to my pages. . . . The mass of records ready to hand is all instructive." It is as much by what he leaves out as by what he puts in that the skilful draughtsman gives a clear impression and heightens his picture.

The way having been prepared by the "visitors'" reports and other means before detailed, Parliament, obedient to Henry's will, in the spring of 1536 passed an Act enabling him to deal with the lesser monasteries, religious houses whose incomes were under £200 a year. About the same time the "Court of Augmentations" was called into being for the purpose of dealing with the property coming to the king from the suppression of the religious houses. The records of this Court and the careful accounts kept by its treasurer are among the most valuable of Father Gasquet's sources of information. The first-fruits of the dissolution was Calwich in Staffordshire, which was taken by the king's commissioners on the 12th of May 1536, and the work of suppression was thenceforward carried on with such rapidity that, by the 8th of July, Chapuys wrote that "what with monks, nuns, and persons dependent on the monasteries suppressed, there were over 20,000 who knew not how to live". Stowe estimates that 10,000 people, masters and servants, had lost their livings by the "putting down" of the lesser monasteries.

[1] See *Arch. Rev.*, vol. i, p. 144.

Mr. Gasquet reckons that 366 houses were put down under the Act by the end of a year and a half, *i.e.*, Michaelmas 1537. Of these, 37 were in Lincolnshire and over 50 in Yorkshire; and it was in these parts, where the work was pushed on with vigour at the outset, that the population rose against the spoliation and destruction of the places they held in such reverence and affection. The monastery at Hexham in Northumberland successfully offered armed resistance in the autumn of 1536, and shortly afterwards the popular discontent broke out in Lincolnshire. The author devotes a chapter to the causes and history of this rebellion; among the former were the obnoxious income tax, granted two years before; the Statute of Uses; the dissolution of the religious houses, and the consequent destitution of the poor; and Cromwell's inquisitorial injunctions to the clergy. The king's commissioners were everywhere; and the glimpses given us of the desolation caused by the suppressions lead to wonder, not that there were risings, but rather that there were not greater troubles among the people thus disturbed by the revolution forcibly taking place in their midst. Nothing but the strong hand of Henry could have kept the people down. "With bands of retainers and workmen imported from distant places, they (the commissioners) were carrying on the forced sales, dismantling the conventual churches and other buildings, and dispatching convoys with plate and muniments to London, or with the lead of church roofs and gutters melted into fodders and pigs, or the metal of broken bells, to some place where they were to be stored for use or sale." Reports went about that still further demolitions were intended, and that the goods and plate of the parish churches were to be seized by the king. Beyond this, the author is convinced by a study of the documents "that the men of Lincolnshire rose in arms in defence of what they held to be matters of both Christian faith and practice". The conduct of Henry in his reply to the articles of the insurgents, and the lies he told respecting them at home and abroad, are but equalled by his duplicity in his dealings with Robert Aske and the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace, the more important rising among the gentry and commons of Yorkshire and other northern counties. This movement seems to have been the outcome of the people's disapproval on ecclesiastical grounds. Throughout the narrative, one is struck by the temperance and firmness of the people in their endeavours to move the king, and it would be but tardy justice to the memory of their leader Aske if his "expostulatory narrative to the king", which is, says Mr.

Gasquet, "a full and complete history of his connection with the rising, and a straightforward and honest declaration of the various causes which led to the disturbance", drawn up at Henry's request, were now at last put into print. A sketch of the second northern rising, and indications of the numerous other disturbances, which show how unwilling great part of the people were to have the "new learning" thrust upon them—the inevitable clashing of the old and the new order—with an account of the king's vengeance and its effects, occupy three interesting chapters.

The crafty ingenuity of the king and his advisers in devising various methods of obtaining possession of the abbeys and other houses finds a full illustration in these pages. Some were dissolved by attainder of the abbots for treason, who being executed, the king claimed their monasteries and possessions. No less than fifty-two houses, among which some were convents of nuns, purchased expensive charters from the king, and so prolonged their existence a short time. Most of the nunneries were poor, and thus fell under the Act before mentioned, but they do not appear to have been destroyed all at once. The chapter on these convents, of which there were about 140 in England, contains many interesting details of their inner life, of the value of the bounty of these ladies to the clergy as well as to the poor, and of their teaching power. "In the convents, the female portion of the population found their only teachers, the rich as well as the poor, and the destruction of these religious houses by Henry was the absolute extinction of any systematic education for women during a long period." One of Henry's methods was to force the larger houses and some of the convents to a voluntary surrender, bribing the heads with offers of pensions; but some of the nuns appear to have been firm enough not fully to comply, their documents never having been signed. One brave prioress replied to the royal commissioners, "If the king's highness command me to go from this house, I will gladly go, though I beg my bread; and as for pension, I care for none"; she was finally turned out pensionless. The friar preachers left the country in large numbers early in this troubled time, and thus avoided the robbery and spoliation that would have befallen them; poor they were, and did not leave much behind them; a large number of their houses were in debt; yet several base shifts were resorted to for turning out those who remained, Bishop Ingworth and Doctor London thus bringing in many forced surrenders of friaries. A draft form of surrender with a kind of abjuration of the grey coat, "girdle full of knots and other

like papistical ceremonies", in the hand of Doctor London, still exists.

The author insists on the illegal action of the king with regard to these surrenders, and on the inaccuracy of the common opinion that he was only taking what Parliament had granted, instancing especially the famous case of Glastonbury. Reading and Colchester were similar. Lord Coke, however, pointed out these illegalities long ago. The great and wealthy houses were seized by Henry, unauthorised by Parliament, though under colour of law, until in 1539 he procured a retrospective Act to cover his doings.

As the story of the general suppression goes on, Mr. Gasquet finds numerous touching incidents of sorrow, broken hearts, beggary, and despair among the thousands of men and women who were thus forcibly ejected from their old homes. There were, too, many noble instances of loyalty to the ancient cause, of resistance to wrongful and tyrannous authority. The tale of ruin to the buildings themselves, often fine and splendid monuments of architecture, is in many cases incredible in its wanton waste and destruction ; the lead from the roofs, the bells, the very walls being pulled down, sometimes by men had down from London for the purpose, or left as quarries for the builder. There must, however, have been in many parts persons not unwilling (as, for example, at Roche Abbey) to profit by the troubles of their neighbours, for the royal agents do not appear to have found any difficulty in the sale of all the materials and spoils seized. The lead, iron, wood, bricks, glass, stone, etc., must have been sold on the spot ; the jewels and gold and silver wares were carried up to London, and probably sold there, many perhaps melted down. The service-books were lost, filched, and destroyed to a remarkable degree. Antiquaries who are sensitive should not read these painful pages.

It were to be wished that the author had summed up the number of religious houses destroyed during the years of desolation from 1536 to 1540. It is difficult to arrive at the exact figures ; 366 are stated to have been suppressed under the Act of 1536, and 202 between 1538 and 1540, excluding convents of nuns and friaries (of which we know many fell under the Act). Of their inmates we get an approximate total estimate—" In round numbers, 8,000 religious persons were expelled from their homes at this time, besides probably more than ten times that number of people who were their dependents, or otherwise obtained their livings in their service."

We have said enough to show the importance of Father Gasquet's

volumes to a truthful comprehension of this dark episode in a great movement. Of his summing up of the "monastic spoils", of his searches into how they were spent, and his essay on "Some Results of the Suppression", more than mention cannot now be made, and that they are by no means the least valuable part of this book. The work closes with several appendices, one of which sums up the amounts paid into the king's revenue arising from the suppressions from 1536 to 1547. Some maps showing the religious houses belonging to different orders in England at the time of the dissolution are a useful feature, and a full index has not been forgotten.

L. T. S.

M. FUSTEL DE COULANGES.

THE study of institutions has suffered an irretrievable loss by the death of M. Fustel de Coulanges. His first work of importance, *La Cité Antique*, has become a classic. It is one of those combinations of sound scholarship and literary charm which Frenchmen alone seem capable of producing. Its principal theme, the Origin of Institutions in Ancestor Worship, was for a long time the most formidable rival to Sir H. S. Maine's Patriarchal Theory, and must always be regarded as contributing at least a portion of the final theory of origins. His work in this direction was continued and expanded by the late Prof. Hearn in his *Aryan Household*, a work which has never received due recognition in England.

The problem, however, on which M. Fustel de Coulanges has been for many years concentrating his brilliant powers was on the origin of feudalism, for that was the centre point of his *Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France*, of part of which—alas! fated to be the concluding one—our readers receive in the present number a *compte rendu* from a capable hand. His contention for a Roman rather than a Teutonic origin for feudalism may have been prompted by patriotic motives in the first instance. But it was presented with such skill, and supported by such a wealth of patient research, that it cannot fail to have a lasting influence on historical science. The number of men who have the knowledge of the history both of legislation and of belief is few enough; fewer still those who can deal adequately with the intricate connection of the two. M. Fustel de Coulanges had, besides this rare knowledge and power, a gift of literary presentation which renders, at any rate the work that first made his fame, unique in the annals of modern scholarship. All who are interested in the study of institutions will deplore his loss, and it seemed therefore appropriate to devote a few words to his memory in a journal specially addressed to those who take interest in the studies on which Fustel de Coulanges has left a lasting mark.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE FINN-MEN OF BRITAIN.

SIR,—I venture to express my dissent from Mr. MacRitchie's views on the identity of Finn MacCumhail and his warrior companions with an historical race akin to the present Finns (*ante*, pp. 121-2). These views seem to be based chiefly upon the likeness of name—a most unsafe basis for such a far-reaching contention. It is a common-place of comparative linguistics that two words may have exactly the same sound yet have no phonetic relationship. The first thing to do is to examine the possible periods of historic contact, and then to ascertain if the alleged phonetic parallel obtained at one or other of those periods. These possible periods are three: (1) Finn Mac Cumhail might be the representative of a pre- and non-Celtic race, such as Irish tradition knows of. But, then, why is tradition silent upon this point? It celebrates the Firbolg Ferdiad as almost the equal of the greatest of all Celtic heroes, Cuchullain; why, if Finn had belonged to the same race, should it have omitted to record the fact? Amongst other incidental pieces of evidence of Finn's genuine Celtic character in tradition may be noted his invariable patronymic designation, whereas several other Irish heroes (*e.g.*, Conchobor Mac Nessa) are styled after their mother, and thus afford proof of a matriarchal state of society, out of which the Celts themselves had probably passed, though they accepted it in part from the earlier races they dispossessed. (2) The second period would be that of Finn's pseudo-historic existence, *i.e.*, the third century A.D. But all we know of history forbids the assumption that there was at this time any *fresh* contact between the Celts and a non-Celtic, possibly Finnish, race. (3) We have the period in which the Fenian saga assumed a quasi-historic literary shape which has in part persisted to the present day; this period cannot be determined with accuracy, but it was certainly one in which the Irish were either passing through their struggle with Scandinavian invaders, or in which the memory of the struggle was still recent. But if at this time there was a fresh contact between Celts and "Finns", the latter must have been allies of the Scandinavians, with whom tradition uniformly represents the Fenian warriors as in conflict. Mr. MacRitchie alludes to the interesting articles of Mr. Ch. de Kay in the *Century*. Mr. de Kay lays rightful stress upon the importance of the non-Celtic race in ancient Celtland: he assumes, which is possible, that this race was akin to one represented by the modern Finns. He therefore uses the Kalevala, taking it as a genuine exponent of the early customs and beliefs of the Finnish race, to throw light upon the Irish sagas. All this is legitimate, though it will be seen that *if* the Kalevala is not what Mr. de Kay assumes it to be, his conclusions lose nearly all their force.[1] But Mr. de Kay rides his hobby too hard. He sees Finns everywhere, even Cuchullain, the Celtic hero *par excellence*, is a Finn. A. Schulz, in his *Beitr. zur german. u. celt. Heidenthume*, claimed the Fenian bands as a Teutonic militia, and Finn himself as a Teutonic half-god. This theory seems to me better founded than Mr. MacRitchie's; but, luckily, the facts of the case are fairly plain, and necessitate no recourse to either hypothesis.

ALFRED NUTT.

[1] *Cf.* my article, *Arch. Review*, Sept., pp. 141-46.

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THE SURNAMES OF ENGLISH VILLAGES.

ONE of the great difficulties that has to be met if we attempt to picture to ourselves free village communities upon English soil lies in the fact that the vill or township of historic times has, as such, no court. I say "vill or township", for we have long ago come to use these words as synonyms. Mediæval Latin was in this respect a more precise language than that which we now use, for it distinguished between the *villa* and the *villata*, between the *town* and the *township*, between the geographical area and the body of inhabitants. I am far from saying that this distinction was always observed, still it was very generally observed: the *villa* is a place, the *villata* a body of men. If a crime takes place in the *villa* of Trumpington, the *villata* of Trumpington ought to apprehend the criminal, and may get into trouble if it fails to perform this duty. Our present use of words which fails to mark this distinction seems due to our having allowed the word *town*, the English equivalent for *villa*, to become appropriated by the larger *villæ*, by boroughs and market towns, while no similar restriction has taken place as regards the word *township*. Thus Trumpington, we say, is not a town, it is a vill or township, and as nowadays few, if any, legal duties lie upon the inhabitants of a *villa* as such, we use the word *township* chiefly, if not solely, to denote a certain space of land, without even connoting a body of inhabitants with communal rights and duties. It is noticeable that in France also the word *ville*, which formerly was equivalent to our *vill* or *township*, has become equivalent to our *town* in its modern sense. I may add that, as a general rule, the modern "civil parish" may be taken to represent the vill or township of the later middle ages. The story of how it lost its old name and acquired a new one is somewhat complicated, involving the history of the poor-law. But

the rough general result is that the old vill is the district now known for governmental purposes as "a civil parish".

But this by the way. Our present point is that the vill or township of historic times, or at least of feudal times, has as such no court. Why we must insert the cautious words "as such" will be obvious. The vill may well be a manor, and the manor will have a court. We may say somewhat more than this, for though in law there is no necessary connection between manor and vill, still in fact we find a close connection. Very often manor and vill are conterminous, and, when this is not the case, the manor is often found to lie within the limits of a single vill. And the further back we go the closer seems the connection, the commoner is it to find that vill and manor coincide. The reason why the connexion seems to grow closer as we go backwards is, I take it, this: that men were free to create new manors for a considerable time after it had become impossible for them to create new vills. The vill had become a governmental district not to be altered save by the central government. But, close though the connection may be, the vill and the manor are, if I may so speak, quantities of different orders. We may even be tempted for a moment to say that the vill is a unit of public law, the manor a unit of private law; the vill belongs to police law, the manor to real property law. But though there would be some truth in such sayings as these, we must reject them. The very essence of all that we call feudalism is a denial of this distinction between public and private law, an assertion that property law is the basis of all law. And turning to the matter now before us, we have only to repeat that the manor has a court, in order to show that the manor cannot be treated as merely an institute of what we should call private law.

Well, the difficulty to which I have alluded is this, that the township or vill has, as such, no court. In all the Anglo-Saxon dooms there seems no trace of the court of the township. The hundred is the lowest unit that has a tribunal; the "township moot", if it exists, is not a tribunal. But it is very hard to conceive a "village community" worthy of the name which has no court of its own. When we look at the village communities, if such we may call them, of the feudal age, when we look at the manors, we see that the court and the jurisdiction therein exercised are the very essence of the whole arrangement. All disputes among the men of the manor about the lands of the manor can be determined within the manor. Were this not so the manor would fall to pieces,

and when in course of time it ceases to be so the manor becomes insignificant—is no longer in any real sense a community. A village community that cannot do justice between its members is not much of a community; its customs, its by-laws, its mode of agriculture, it cannot enforce; to get them enforced it must appeal to a "not-itself", to the judgment of outsiders, of jealous neighbours who will have little care for its prosperity or for the maintenance of its authority over its members. Our English evidence as to pre-feudal times seems, at least on its surface, to show that "the agricultural community", or township, is no "juridical community", by which I mean that it has no power *jus dicendi;* the hundred is the smallest "juridical community". This is a real difficulty, and it is apparently compelling some of us to believe that the township never was a "free village community"; that from the first the force that kept it together, that gave it its communal character, was the power of a lord over serfs, a power which in course of time took the mitigated form of jurisdiction, but which had its origin in the relation between slave and slave-owner.

Now I cannot but think that some evidence about these things might yet be discovered in that most wonderful of all palimpsests, the map of England, could we but decipher it; and though I can do but very little towards the accomplishment of this end, I may be able to throw out a suggestion (not, it must be confessed, a very new one) which may set more competent inquirers at work. That suggestion, to put it very briefly, is this: that there may have been a time when township and hundred were identical, or rather—for this would be the better way of putting it—when the hundred, besides being the juridical community, was also an agricultural community. For this purpose I will refer to some evidence which seems to show that the vill of ancient times was often a much larger tract of land than the vill of modern times; that the area belonging to an agricultural community was not unfrequently as large as the area of some of our hundreds.

An English village very commonly has a double name, or, let us say, a name and a surname; it is no mere Stoke, but Stoke d'Abernon, Stoke Mandeville, Bishop's Stoke. These surnames often serve to mark some obvious contrast, as between Great and Little, in the west country between Much and Less, between Upper and Lower, Higher and Nether, Up and Down, Old and New, North and South, East and West; sometimes the character of the soil is indicated, as by Fenny and Dry; sometimes the surname is given by a river, often by the patron saint of the village church.

Often, again, it tells us of the rank of the lord who held the vill; King's, Queen's, Prince's, Duke's, Earl's and Sheriff's, Bishop's, Abbot's, Prior's, Monks', Nuns', Friars', Canons', White Ladies', Maids', and their Latin equivalents, serve this purpose. Often, again, we have the lord's family name, d'Abitot, d'Abernon, Beauchamp, Basset, and the like; sometimes it would seem his Christian name, as in Hanley William and Coln Roger. In all this there is nothing worthy of remark, for if a place has started with a name so common as Stoke, Stow, Ham, Thorpe, Norton, Sutton, Newton, Charlton, Ashby, or the like, then sooner or later it must acquire some surname in order that it may be distinguished from the other villages of the same name with which the country abounds. It is not to our present purpose to point out that a good deal of history is sometimes involved in a very innocent-looking name; that, for example, the beck which gives its name to Weedon Beck is not in Weedon but in Normandy, still less to dwell on such curiosities as Zeal Monachorum, Ryme Intrinseca, Toller Porcorum, Shudy Camps and Shellow Bowells.

But very often we find two or more contiguous townships bearing the same name and distinguished from each other only by what we call their surnames. Cases in which there are two such townships are in some parts of England so extremely common as to be the rule rather than the exception. If, for example, we look at the map of Essex we everywhere see the words Great and Little serving to distinguish two neighbouring villages. Cases in which the same name is borne by three or more adjacent townships are rarer, but occur in many counties. Thus, in Herefordshire, Bishop's Frome, Castle Frome, Canon's Frome; in Worcestershire, Hill Crome, Earl's Crome, and Crome D'Abitot; in Gloucestershire, Coln Dean, Coln Rogers, Coln St. Alwyn's; in Wiltshire, Longbridge Deverill, Hill Deverill, Brixton Deverill, Monkton Deverill, Kingston Deverill, also Winterbourne Dantsey, Winterbourne Gunner, Winterbourne Earls. Two patches of villages in the county of Dorset bear this same name of Winterbourne: in one place we find Winterbourne Whitchurch, Winterbourne Kingston, Winterbourne Clenston, Winterbourne Stickland, Winterbourne Houghton; in another, Winterbourne Abbots and Winterbourne Steepleton. In the same county is the group of Tarrant Gunville, Tarrant Hinton, Tarrant Launceston, Tarrant Monkton, Tarrant Rawstone. On the border of Berkshire and Hampshire lie Stratfield Mortimer, Stratfield Turgis, and Stratfield Saye. Essex is particularly rich in such groups; close to Layer Marney, Layer de la Hay, and Layer Bret-

ton, are Tolleshunt Knight's, Tolleshunt Major, and Tolleshunt Darcy; in the same county are High Laver, Little Laver, and Magdalen Laver; Theydon Gernon, Theydon Mount, Theydon Bois; also (and this is perhaps the finest example) High Roding, Roding Aythorpe, Leaden Roding, White Roding, Margaret Roding, Abbots' Roding, Roding Beauchamp, and Berners Roding. In Suffolk we find Bradfield St. George, Bradfield St. Clare, and Bradfield Combust; Fornham St. Martin, Fornham All Saints, Fornham St. Genevieve; while six neighbouring villages bear the name South Elmham, and can be distinguished from each other only by means of their patron saints.

That, taken in the bulk, these surnames are not primæval is very obvious. There is no need to point out that many of them cannot have been bestowed by heathens, that they imply a great ecclesiastical organisation, with its bishops, abbots, priors, monks, nuns, churches, steeples, crosses, and patron saints, for it is plain enough that many others are not so old as the Norman Conquest. Indeed, many of the family names which have stamped themselves on the map of England do not even take us back to the Conquest: they are the names not of the great counts and barons who followed Duke William and shared the spoil, but of families which rose to greatness on English soil in the service of the King of England; the Bassets, for example, are men who leave their mark far and wide. Ewias Harold and Stoke Edith in Herefordshire seem to tell of very ancient days (*D. B.*, i, 183, 186); but such instances are rare. On the whole the inference that the map suggests is that these surnames of our villages did not become stereotyped before the end of the thirteenth century. And this is borne out by the usage of that time; one spoke then not simply of Weston Mauduit, Maisey Hampton, Eastleach Turville, but of Weston of Robert Manduit, Hampton of Roger de Meisy, Eastleach of Robert de Tureville; a change of lord might still cause a change of name. The surnames of Prince's Risborough and Collingbourn Ducis can hardly belong even to the thirteenth century.

If now we turn to *Domesday Book*, not only do we see that many of these surnames are of comparatively recent date, but also we shall begin to suspect that many of our villages cannot trace their pedigrees far beyond the Norman invasion. In general, where two neighbouring modern villages have the same name, *Domesday* does not treat them as two. Let us look at the very striking case of the various Rodings or Roothings which lie in the Dunmow hundred of Essex. Already six lords have a manor apiece "in

Rodinges"; but *Domesday* has no surnames for these manors: they all lie "in Rodinges". It is so with the various Tolleshunts in the Thurstable hundred: there are many manors "in Tolleshunta". It is so with the numerous Winterbournes, with the Tarrants, with the Deverills. Now it might be rash to argue that the governmental geography of the Confessor's day treated the whole valley of the Roding as an undivided unit, that the whole of Tolleshunt formed one township, the whole of Deverill another; there may have been many townships as well as many manors in "in Rodinges", though they had not yet acquired names, or officially recognised names. In some cases we seem to see the process of fission or subdivision actually at work. *Domesday* does give us a few surnames, but they are of a curious kind; by far the commonest are "Alia", and "Altera". Thus the two adjacent villages in Huntingdonshire which were afterwards known as Hemingford Abbot's and Hemingford Gray appear as Emingeforde and Emingeforde Alia. So we find Odeford and Odeford Alia, Pantone and Pantone Alia, and so forth. This clumsy nomenclature forcibly suggests that the two Hemingfords were already two, but had not long before been one. People are beginning to allow that Hemingford isnot one village, but two villages; as yet, however, they can only indicate this fact by speaking of Hemingford and "the other Hemingford", Hemingford No. 2".

Now these facts seem to suggest that in a very large number of cases the territory which was once the territory of a single township or cultivating community has, in course of time, perhaps before, perhaps after the Norman Conquest, become the territory of several different townships; or, to put it another way, that the township of the later middle ages is by no means always the representative of a primitive settlement, but is, so to speak, one of several coheirs among whom the lands of the ancestor have been partitioned. We need not, of course, believe that the phenomenon has in all cases the same cause. From the first, some of these settlements may have borne double names; a number of settlements along a winterbourne may have borne the name of the stream, and have been distinguished from each other as the king's town on the winterbourne, the monk's town on the winter-bourne, and so forth. This may have been so, though *Domesday* does not countenance any such supposition; but, at any rate, it is difficult to imagine that this is the correct explanation of any large number of instances. We can hardly believe, for example, that six different bodies of settlers sat down side by side, each calling its territory "South-Elm-

Ham". The object of giving a name to a district is to distinguish it from other districts, but more especially from such as are in close proximity to it. We can hardly believe that, on a space of ground which had only one name, there had always been two or more different communities, each with its own fields and its own customs.

We thus come to think of the township—or if that term be open to objection, I will say, the lowest nameable geographical unit —of very ancient times as being in many cases much larger than the vill or township of the later middle ages, or our own "civil parish". In many cases we must throw three of these vills together in order to get the smallest area that had a name, and was conceived as a whole. We thus seem to make the vill approach the size of a hundred. But what is the size of a hundred? This question may well remind us of the story of the witness who referred to "the size of a piece of chalk" as to a known cubic measure. The size of the hundred as it has come down to us may vary from 2 square miles to 300. But it is well known that the large hundreds have, generally speaking, all the appearance of being more modern than the small hundreds. It is to those counties that were the first to be settled by German invaders, to Kent, and Sussex, and Wessex, that we must go for our small hundreds. The Kentish hundred is quite a small place; there are several instances in which it contains but two parishes, and therefore (for I think that this inference may be drawn as regards this part of England) but two vills: indeed, if I mistake not, there is a case in which the hundred contains but one parish, and another in which it contains but part of a single parish. There are many hundreds in the south of England which hold but six, five, four parishes.

Thus, as we look backwards, we seem to see a convergence between the size of the township and the size of the hundred, and even were the convergence between them so slight that they would not meet unless produced to a point which lies beyond the limits of history and beyond the four seas, we shall thus be put upon an inquiry which might lead to good results. It seems, for example, a possible opinion that, though if we take any of our manorial courts and trace back its history, we shall not be able to trace it further than the age of feudalism or of incipient feudalism, shall never find that court existing as a court without a lord, still there may well have been a time when the agricultural community, the community which had common fields, had also a communal court,

a court constituted by free men, and a court without a lord, a court represented in later days by the court of a hundred. Into such speculations I cannot venture, but the map of England suggests them.[1]

[1] Speculations of this kind are also suggested by Lamprecht's *Deutsches Wirthschaftsleben*, and by Kemble's theory of the "mark". Of course I do not mean that the now existing hundreds of middle and northern England were ever agrarian communities ; they may well from the first have been mere administrative and jurisdictional divisions, like our modern county court districts and petty sessional divisions, the model for such divisions having been found in the south of England, where already the hundred had lost its economic unity and become a jurisdictional division containing several townships or agrarian communities.

F. W. MAITLAND.

DOMESDAY MEASURES OF LAND AND MODERN CRITICISM.

IN the following paper the references mean as follows:—

Pell I means a paper written by me in vol. i of *Domesday Studies*, commencing at p. 227 of that volume.

Round I means Mr. Round's so-called criticism, headed: "History—Domesday Measures of Land," commencing at p. 285 of the June number of the *Archæological Review* for the year 1888.

Pell II means my reply thereto, or, as Mr. Round calls it in his rejoinder, my *angry retort*, commencing at p. 349 of the January number of the year 1889.

Round II means Mr. Round's said rejoinder, commencing at p. 130 of the September number of the *Archæological Review* for the year 1889.

Round II commences thus:—"*It had been my wish in my previous paper* (Arch. Review, June 1888) *on the above subject to spare Mr. Pell as much as possible, and not criticise his eccentric theories so severely as they deserved. Since he has thought fit, however, to retort in angry language, I propose now to expose frankly one of the most mischievous heresies that has ever been advanced.*"

In reply to this I will firstly say that nobody who may chance to read *Pell II* will find anything in it to justify Mr. Round in calling it an "angry retort"; under the circumstances I should call it a very forbearing retort. And secondly, I will say that I care not whether I am "blown to pieces" (*Round I*, p. 290), and in this way spared by Mr. Round, or whether he frankly (?) exposes me as a propagator of "one of the most mischievous heresies that has ever been advanced". What Mr. Round should have accorded to me is the fair play that everybody expects in matters of this kind, a thing which Mr. Round, however, has thought fit, in his eagerness to destroy, utterly to deny to me, and thus has rendered his criticisms not worth the paper they are written on. The matter stands thus: in *Pell I* I ventured to propound the point that *Domesday Book* was a record of only *taxable* land producing profit, and that there must have been at the time of *Domesday* much land lying fallow and pratum, not taxed, and, therefore, to be added to the taxable

land in order to produce the total amount of actual area. I also propounded the other point, that in a great many cases the numbers in *Domesday Book* are reckoned in the Anglican way—*i.e.*, that 5 means 6, $7\frac{1}{2}$ means 9, and 120 means 144, 180 means 216, and 240 means 288. These are the only two propositions that Mr. Round assails out of the many contained in my original paper, *Pell I.* I will give his own words again. They are to be found at p. 286, *Round I*, and are as follows :—

"If I have extracted Mr. Pell's meaning aright, he requires us to accept the following axioms by which he is enabled in every case to connect assessment with area. (1) The *Domesday* hide of 120 acres represents (*i.e.*, including fallow) an area of 240 acres of arable land (in a two-course manor). (2) The *Domesday* hide of 120 acres represents in three-field manors (*i.e.*, including fallow) 180 acres of arable land. (3) But as (he holds) the fallow land or 'idle shift' was sometimes 'extra hidam', and not geldated, and sometimes, on the contrary, 'infra hidam', though 'under what circumstances and why', says Mr. Pell, 'this should have been the case it is hard to say,' the *Domesday* hide would in the latter case represent no more in either manor than 120 acres. (4) If reckoned by the *Anglicus numerus* these three areas would respectively represent 288, 216, and 144 acres. (5) But the six areas at which we have arrived do not exhaust the list. For not only may the hide in two adjacent manors represent quite different areas, and be reckoned by the smaller or by the greater hundred, but even in one and the same manor it may, if convenient, be reckoned at one place by the ordinary and at another *Anglico numero*."

Subject to the remarks (also in my paper) as to fallow and pasture, where either lay "in separali", and therefore liable to taxation, I do reassert every one of those five propositions; and though I do not like to impute to Mr. Round the lack of anything, not even the qualification necessary to scale "the giddy heights of calculation", still I cannot possibly assent to his method of criticism—no such isolated words ("under what circumstances, and why this should have been the case, it is hard to say") as he makes use of in No. 3 are to be found in my paper subject to his criticism. It would be well if all critics would give the words of the author, as it is bad to omit them, and still worse to quote part and not the whole. The real words are to be found in *Pell I*, page 348, and are as follows, as contained from A to B below :

A.—"An acre of arable land, however, being, as it were, in two parts—the one being *ad seminandum*, and the other *ad warectandum*—it is most important, for purposes of calculation, to observe that in very many

manors, particularly in the county of Kent, this land *warectandum* (in other words, the idle shift) was *extra hidam*, not geldated, and therefore unnoticed in *D. Bk.* Under what circumstances, and why this should
Note. have been the case, is to be found in the fact that in those manors the fallow lay in common—*jacet in communi;* and an acre of such land (with sown land geldated and the fallow not) is in the Ely MSS., in some manors, called half-an-acre of *wara*, which word, I submit, may be the source from which the term *ad warectum* is derived. This state of things in the Domesday of St. Paul's seems to be referred to by the use of the expression *una hida in solanda—i.e.*, the geldated hide of 120 acres, plus the fallow. The non-liability to taxation of fallow land when lying in common appears in very many MSS. For instance, in Cottonian MS., Faust B. viii, f. 206, 'Et ibidem I carucata terræ continens in se L acras terræ, unde duo partes possunt quolibet anno seminari, et valet acra quondo seminata II denarios. Et tertia pars nihil valet sed jacet ad warectam et in communi'; and in No. 6165 of the Add. MSS. at the British Museum, containing an extent of the Manor of Littleberri, in Essex, taken at the instance of the Crown, where is to be found this entry: 'Et sunt ibidem CCXL acræ terræ arabilis quæ valet per annum XL*s.* pr. per ac. II*d.* quando seiantur, et quando non seiantur, valet per annum XX*s.* pr. per ac. I*d.* Item sunt ibidem CCXL acræ terræ arabilis, quarum quælibet acra valet II*d.* quando seiantur, et quando non seiantur, nihil valet, quia jacet in communi.'

"The MS. is speaking of the lord's land in the open fields; therefore, if the lord's land, when not sown, lay 'in communi', he would not be taxed on his fallow; on the other hand, if the tenants had no rights of common over the fallow, but it lay 'in separali' for the lord's fold, then their fallow would be 'extra hidam' as far as they were concerned.

"In estimating the quantities under plough, that fact has to be borne in mind, and calculations made accordingly. So, too, in regard to pasture land where it lay in common, as was generally the case, it was untaxed; thus in vol. ii of the Hundred Rolls, p. 451, at Brampton, we read: 'Dicimus quod dominus Robertus de Insula habet in Rampton in dominico et in homagio quinque hidæ et dimidium et XXIIII acræ ut in terra pratis pasturis excepto marisco qui est communis,' and therefore not taxed.

"The Domesday geldable hide of 120 acres was the kernel of Fleta's carucate, which seems to have been composed of the sown land, linked with its twin brother, the land *ad warectandum*, and if lying in common when fallow, then *extra hydam*. This sum total of land *ad geldum*, and land *extra hydam*, appears to have been in two-shift manors, 240 or 288 acres, and, in three-course manors, 180 or 216 acres. The carucate of 120 acres *ad seminandum* + 120 or + 80 acres *ad warectandum* was the Kentish *solin* or *sulung;* which was nothing more than a carucate consisting of the geldable hide with its idle shift very often *extra hydam*."—B.

I am sorry to say that Mr. Round appears to be deficient in

that candour which would induce most men to acknowledge and apologise for their error, but he does no such thing. He now says that the words he used—"under what circumstances, and why this should have been the case, it is hard to say"—were contained in a paper he was not criticising, viz., a paper written by me five years ago. He says, "These words will be found on page 69 of his paper on the Domesday Geldable Hide (*Camb. Ant. Soc. Trans.*). Now this, to say the least of it, is decidedly strange, but I will let it pass, and merely content myself by again repeating that no such *isolated* words ("under what circumstances, and why this should have been the case, it is hard to say") as he makes use of in No. 3, are to be found at page 69 of my five-year-old paper. The words there are as follows:

"The geldable *hida*, *terra ad carucam*, or *carucata*, then had in *D. Bk.* the meaning of *terra lucrabilis* (other than unappropriated *wara*) of a certain fixed amount, as will fully appear by the Tables annexed to this paper.

"An acre of arable land, however, being very like a gun, and having as it were two barrels or parts, the one being *ad seminandum*, and the other *ad warectandum*, it is most important, for the purposes of calculation, to observe, that in very many manors, particularly in the county of Kent, this land *ad warectandum* (in other words, the idle shift) was *extra hidam*, and
Note! not geldated. Under what circumstances, and why this should have been the case, it is hard to say, unless the reason is to be found in the fact that in those manors the fallow lay in common—'jacet in communi' (see the suggestion in regard to the Littleberri Manor contained in NOTE B to Table I); but the fact is undoubted, and an acre of such land (with the sown land geldated and the fallow not) is, in the Ely MSS., in some manors called half an acre of wara; which word, in my last paper, I submitted might be the source from which the term *ad warectum* is derived. This state of things seems in the Domesday of St. Paul's to be referred to by the use of the expression *una hida in solanda*, *i.e.*, the geldated hide of 120 acres plus the fallow. See Appendix, *post*, p. 162."

And the Note B to Table I is as follows, to be found at page 109 of the same paper.

"NOTE B.—Tillingham. 'Cum sex hidis trium solandarum.' This is one of the cases referred to in the paper, as supporting the theory, that in some manors the whole, and in others a portion, of the fallow land was taxed, as well as the cropped land.

"At Tillingham, it appears that, though the bulk of the fallow land of the manor was not taxed, yet there were in the same manor three 'solandæ' which held six hides. Three solandæ (or Kentish sulungs of 240 acres, *i.e.*, 120 sown + 120 idle shift) amount to 720 acres, being also

the amount of the acreage of six hides of 120 acres each; so it is evident that the 360 of fallow land was taxed, as well as the 360 of cropped land.

"Again we learn, by Hale's book, p. 23, that Sutton defended itself against the king for three hides—'preterea solanda de Chesewick, quæ per se habet duas hidas.'

"On the other hand, at Draiton, a manor in which all the other fallow land was untaxed, we find, at page 99, that it defended itself against the king for eight hides—'cum una hida de solande.' Taking the solanda to be 120+120 acres, and noting the fact that the manor was rated at 10 hides in *D. Bk.*, it would appear that the quantity of land was the same, both at the time of *D. Bk.* and in 1222, but that, at some time in the interval, fallow land, to the amount of 120 acres, ceased to be taxable.

"In the absence of any other reason for this variety of taxation of the same quantities of land, one may, possibly, be found in the entry (referred to in p. 36 of my last paper) contained in No. 6165 of the Add. MSS. at the British Museum. The extract is from an extent of the Manor of Littleberri in Essex, taken at the instance of the town.

"'Et sunt ibidem CCXL acræ terræ arabilis quæ valet per annum XL*s.* pr. per ac. 11*d.* quando seiantur, et quando non seiantur, valet per annum XX*s.* pr. per ac. 1*d.* Item sunt ibidem CCXL acræ terræ arabilis, quarum quælibet acra valet 11*d.*, quando seiantur, et quando non seiantur, nihil valet, quia jacet in communi.'"

This question is forced upon me—why did Mr. Round write as he has done in this matter? Why did he stop short at the words "it is hard to say", without adding the words, "unless it is to be found", etc., etc.? It certainly has given him the opportunity of making me appear an idiotic and mischievous heretic who has no reason to give for his heresy: that is hardly what I should have thought would have been allowable; but, then, Mr. Round is a critic and I am not, and I am unaware of the rules of the game.

I said at page 353 of *Pell II* that, owing to this unscrupulous suppression of what I did say in *Pell I*, applied as it is to every case that I had given in my paper as an illustration and proof of my "mischievous heresies", Mr. Round must excuse me if I declined to take the trouble to repeat the words (left out always by him) which proved the influence of such heresies in more than two of the cases that he attacked in this fashion, that they must go as samples of the whole, and that anybody who cared could do the same with the others by reading in my own words my explanation of them. The two cases I took were those of Clifton and Shelford, at pages 353 to 357 of *Pell II*, and as I hear no more of them, I conclude Mr. Round feels that the bottom has come out of his Chair of Criticism with the usual results as to them; but, as Mr. Round seems

particularly to wish that I should take one more case, and that, my own Manor of Wilburton, I will do so, not only because I think no other manor in England has such a continuous record extant as it, going as far back as one hundred years before Domesday, not only because it proves the truth of my "mischievous heresies" up to the hilt, but also because it is the case out of all the others in which Mr. Round's unblushing tactics can be best exposed, and because he takes it as a test case in his rashness: so "ad judicium".

Now, in regard to the Manor of Wilburton, the matter stands thus: it belongs to me, and I have the rolls from now to the beginning of the reign of Ed. I. From them it appears that at the latter time the area of the manor was about 864 acres, and the virgate 24 acres; of these two facts Mr. Round can easily satisfy himself by coming or sending somebody else on his behalf to inspect them. If he does not care to do that, I will give him the evidence of a disinterested third person (writing entirely without reference to this subject)—the Professor of Law at Cambridge, Mr. W. H. Maitland. I have never seen him nor been in his society, but I lent him my Rolls, knowing that they would be of use to him in the work he was on, and this is what he says in his letter to me, dated 28th April 1889:

"My dear Sir,—I have been thoroughly enjoying your kind loan. I have learnt a good deal from your fine set of Wilburton Rolls. Certainly, your manor has a very continuous history. What you say about the sale of services at Wilburton is very interesting. I see that at Littleport the Bishop had begun to commute the Opera for money rents in Ed. II time. When I next see Skeat I will ask him about 'wara', but I fear that etymology can seldom do much to help in the solution of these problems upon which you are engaged, words so easily acquire secondary and technical meanings. Your theory about the 'wara' is certainly most valuable, and seems to fit the Wilburton case beautifully.

"I trust that when the Rolls return to you they will be none the worse for my use of them."

I now give the evidence as to the virgate at Wilburton being 24 acres—it is to be found at page 79 of the 6th vol. of the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*. Mr. Round takes not the slightest notice of it, but the entry is as follows:

"The MS. of 1277, so far as regards Wilburton Manor, shows the tenants of that manor as holding *plenæ terræ*, or virgates of 12 acres of *wara*, *i.e.*, 12 acres originally fallow + 12 acres sown (see Appendix, *post*, p. 162); and I give here a transcript from the Crown Survey of the Manor of Wilburton, of Elizabeth's reign, showing the contents of such a virgate,

and how it might be made up by (in addition to its arable land) small pieces of pratum lying in the open fields, in some manors, and larger pieces of pastura in others :

CUSTUMARII.

Oliverus Morden tenet per copiam dat die anno regni Unam messuagium et unam virgatam terræ nuper Roberti Cokin ; viz. :—

Domus Mans. iii spac. unum horreum iii spac. unum stabulum i spac. et le Backside continent per estim*ationem* iii rods.

Terra arabilis in communibus campis de Wilburton vocatis Hall pond field fur close Field Whitecross field et Grunti fen field per estimationem..... xxii ac.

Pratum jacens in les doles per est..... ii ac.

"Other virgates at Wilburton have, some a few more roods of pratum, and more arable, containing from 22 to 25 acres *in toto ;* but on an average on the whole 22½ arable, plus 1½ of pratum, or 24 acres in all. The Compotus Rolls and Court Rolls (as far back as Ed. I, of the Manor of Wilburton, are in my possession, and fully confirm the Elizabethan survey, which is also in my possession."

Mark, learn, and inwardly digest, Mr. Round, 22 acres of "terra arabilis præter pratum."

Again I say that if he does not care personally to inspect the Rolls and Surveys here, he has only to go to the British Museum and inspect the MS. I refer to in the following entry contained in the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, vol. vi, p. 32 :

"Not only does it appear over and over again through all the Wilburton Court and Compotus Rolls, extending from Edw. I down to a Crown Survey taken in Queen Elizabeth's reign (at the time when the manor was granted to Sir John Jolles), that a *plena terra* consisted of 24 acres in the open fields, but there is one other MS. that I referred to, viz. Add. MS. 6165 at the British Museum, which contains, at pages 281 and 277, a copy of a return of an *Inquisitio* in the reign of Edw. III, of the lands, goods, and chattels of the then Bishop of Ely. It includes, among others, the return of the Bishop's possessions at Wilburton, and in it is the following entry :

'Et sunt ibidem xiii nativi et dim. quorum quilibet eorum tenet xxiiii acras terræ.'

The remaining two *plenæ terræ* that made up the fifteen and a half of 1277 were, as appears by the contemporaneous Rolls, in the hands of the lord, and were *ad firmam.* We have therefore the entry in the Survey of Edw. I's reign of 1277, showing that a *plena terra* was 12 acres of *wara*, and we have the return of Edward III, in 1355, showing that it consisted of 24 acres, statute measure, of *terra*, confirmed by the contemporaneous and subsequent Court Rolls. The same entries are also made in regard to Stretham and Lyndon. In Stretham the *plena terra* in 1277 is stated to be 12 acres of *wara ;* and in the MS. of 1355 the *nativi* are said to hold 24 acres of *terra.* In Lyndon Manor the Survey of 1277 states the *plena*

terra to be *decem acræ de wara ;* and in the MS. of 1355 the *nativi* are recorded as holding *viginta acras terræ*, and so in regard to other manors."

Mr. Round takes no notice of this either : this is not in accordance with my views of honest criticism, and let me say in passing, that it ill becomes him to say, when a MS. is quoted, that the quotation " may or may not be so"; if he assumes the office of an honest critic, it is his bounden duty, before writing such a passage as the above, to ascertain by personal inspection whether he is justified in doing so.

I will now go on. Mr. Round abandons *Pell I*, and goes on to criticise my five-year-old paper so far as it applies to my Manor of Wilburton, and he quotes from it as contained in vol. vi of the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications.* At pages 21 and 141 of that vol. I gave the entries in regard to this manor, out of *Domesday* and the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, thus :

" *Wilbertone*, 192ª. Ibi v hidæ. Terra est vii car. In dominio iii hid. et i virg. et ibi iii car. Ibi iiii sochi et ix vill. cum iiii car. Ibi viiii cot. et vii servi.

" *The same. Inquisitio Eliensis*, p. 506 (Public Records Print), Wilbertona pro v hid. se defendit. vi car. ibi est terra iiii car. et iii hid. et una virg. in dominio iiii car. hom. ix vill. quisque x acr. et iiii alii vill. de una virgata."

I then, at page 161, give all the pre-Domesday evidence I could collect, and also continue on with a translation of the whole of the MS. of 1277. The paper reads thus, and is to be found at vol. vi of *C. A. S. C.*, page 161 :

I.

Pre-D. Bk. Information.

At page 116 of Stewart's *Historia Eliensis Liber Secundus*, written however, *after D. Bk.*, between the years 1105-1131, there is in the paragraph—" 8. Quomodo B. Ædelwoldus emit Lindune et Hylle et Wiceham et Wilbertune", the following entry : " Mercatus est siquidem a Levrico de Brandune filio Æthelferthi xii hydas, scilicet manerium, quod Lindune dicitur, cum appendiciis, videlicit, Hylle et Wiceham et Wilbertun," etc.

(Note, these *twelve* hides are, in the following page (117), described in the " privilegium Ædgari Regis de eodem" as " quandam ruris particulam x videlicet cassatos" ; and note, 10 *Ang. num.* = 12.)

This purchase took place somewhere about the year 975, and very shortly afterwards Brithnoth, the first abbot, purchased, or re-united by way of purchase, the contents of the said *Appendicium* of Wilberton, as appears at page 132 of the same book, thus—

"17. De Wilbertune.

"In Wilbertune emit Abbas ab Alfwino et uxore sua Sifled, duas hydas duodecies XX acrarum arabilium" (*i.e.*, 2 × 240) "præter prata, pro LXXXX. aureis, et insuper V. prædia ædificata, et hoc aurum totum persolutum erat ei apud monasterium de Ely, coram Oswi fratre Ulf et coram Wine, et altero Wine, et coram omnibus melioribus et senioribus de Ely." (See note below.)

"Episcopus Æthelwoldus emit ibi ab Oppele LXX acras."

"Abbas mutavit ibi cum Alfrico de Suthtune LXXX acras, dans ei terram de Wiceham. Emerunt quoque fratres ibi ab Æddingo LXX acras: et ab aliis quorum nomina scripto non commendatur, quam plurimas acras ibi emerunt; *ita quod v. integræ hydæ ibi habentur, et totum hundredum unius cujusque emptionis fuit in testimonium.*"

NOTE.—This Sifled was probably the daughter of Siverthus of Dunham, who gave to his daughter two hides in Wilbertune; see Stewart's *Historia Eliensis.*

These figures (if *Angelico numero*) would give a very near approximation to the acreage stated in the Survey of 1277, *post*, and *ante*, p. 91, viz., 864 acres.

Two hides of wara Ang. Num.	=	576 = 2 × 288
Seventy acres	=	84
Eighty acres...	=	96
Seventy acres	=	84
Quam plurimæ acræ (1 Virgate?) ...		24
Total		864

An acre of wara is one acre sown + one acre fallow = 2 acres. See my first paper, p. 32, and *ante*, p. 69. An acre of wara, *Anglico numero*, is $1\frac{1}{5}$ acre + $1\frac{1}{5}$ acre, and two hides of 240 each, *Ang. numero*, would be 288 + 288 = 576; such were the XII carucatæ ad geldum and XXIIII carucæ in Alfnodeston Wapentake in Rutland, fol. 293, *D. Bk.*, and *ante*. Table II, note to Dorset. At page 147 of Stewart's *Historia Eliensis* there is mention made of three hides of 240 acres each at Horningsee, and at page 149, of one hide of 240 acres at Sneillewelle; all these hides were therefore hides of wara.

II.

A Translation from MS. L.E., A.D. 1277.—*Wilbertune.*

An Inquisition made by Adam of the Lane, Jurdan his son, Thomas of Tynedshall, Robert the Newman, Richard of the Lane, Alexander the Newman, Sampson the son of Jurdan, Warrin the son of Ralph Roger of the Hill, Osbert Ade, William Cudgell and William at the townshead.

This Manor is in the County of Cambridge and in the Hundred of Wichford.

"Advocatio Ecclesiæ, et donatio" belong to the Bishop of Ely, and it is in his own Bishopric, and within the Isle.

The demesne of the Manor is thus distinguished, viz. :

In the Field called	*Est field*	*Four score and sixteen acres*
„ „	*South field*	*Sixty and twelve acres*
„ „	*North field with the appurts.*	*One hundred and eight acres*

Total of all the profitable (*lucrabilis*) land—

Two hundred and sixty and sixteen acres by the lesser hundred, and by the pole (*pertica*) of sixteen feet and a half, which they can bring into profit (*lucrare*) with two ploughs, viz., each plough of two horses (*stotti*) and six oxen, with the customary services of the town (*cum consuet villæ*).

Of meadow that may be mowed, viz. :

In *Brok*, *Springwell*, *Littlemead*, and *Redgras*, *Thirty and one acres* with other small (*minutis*) parcels. Also at *Le Hee*, *seven acres and three rodes*. *Total of all the meadow that may be mowed*, *Thirty and eight acres and three roods*.

Besides, opposite (*ex opposito*) the Gate lie three acres of pasture land, which used to be arable land (*terra lucrabilis*).

Also there may be there of stock (*stauri*), ten cows, and one bull in common (*lib.*), sixteen pigs, and one common boar. Two hundred sheep (*bidentes*) by the greater hundred.

I then go on to give the remainder of the MS., which minutely shows the holdings of each tenant and their services, from which it appears that there were then 81 acres of wara held by the *libere tenentes*, that is, 162 acres in area, and the remaining portion is held by the *operarii*, the total of the land being, as nearly as possible, 864 acres.

91 At page 91 of the same vol. vi of the *C. A. S.* will be found my "mischievous words", as follows :

"Wilburton is a case of this description, Tables I and III, No. 43 ; the actual area all told was, as appears from the details of it contained in the MS. *L.E.* (see a translation of it *post*, in the Appendix), p. 162, and shown at p. 22 in my last paper, 864*a*, made up thus at the time of *D. Bk.* :

Lord's arable (including lord's pratum of 39 a.)	423
Cottagers, 1 a. each	9
Libere tenentes	108
4 Sochmanni	24
Operarii	300
	864

"On reference to the primary return, Table III, No. 43, contained in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, Ellis, *D. Bk.*, tom. iv, page 506, it appears that 'VI car. ibi est terra', divided into 'quatuor car. in dominio' and 'quatuor car. hominum'. These six car. of the *Inquisitio Eliensis* of 120,

'juxta estimationem Anglorum' 6 (144) exactly equal 864 ac.; or, as *D. Bk.* puts it, 3 lord's car. of 144 (120, *Anglico numero*) plus 4 average car. of 108 acres to the tenants, exactly make the 864 a. The 8 ploughs of the lord and men of the *Inquisitio Eliensis* have an average terra of 108 acres each over the manor. If a sixth part is taken off a terra of 108, it becomes 90, and that is just to what the King's Officers have in *D. Bk.* reduced the terra of the car. of 108, belonging to the *libere tenentes* (the IX vill. quisque de X acris). But the case does not end there; the holdings of the *homines* were holdings of 'wara', *i.e.*, the fallow was not taxed; the manor was in a three-course shift, and the actual acreage of the tenants' car. (4 car. of 108) was 432; so the King's Officers take off a third for fallow, which they make 'extra hidam'; deducting this 144 from 864 there remains 720 acres, off which they take a sixth, as at Clifton and elsewhere, and the total is reduced to 600, or 5 hides of 120, at which it stands ad geldum. The lord's III hidæ et I virg. is really 3 (120 + 24) not 360 + 24. There are other cases like this in *D. Bk.*

"The MS. is speaking of the lord's land on the open fields; therefore, if the lord's land therein, when not sown, lay 'in communi', he would not be taxed on his fallow: on the other hand, if the tenants had no right of common over the fallow, but it lay 'in separali' for the lord's fold, then their fallow would be 'wara' and 'extra hidam'. Similar entries are to be found in other MSS."

Mr. Round's innocent criticism on all the above extracts, and my remarks, are as follows, and to be found at p. 131 of *Round II.*

"Let us take Mr. Pell's own manor of Wilburton, of which his knowledge is more exhaustive, we learn, than of any other; to its details he is constantly referring as to a test-case. Now here, as elsewhere, Mr. Pell claims to establish that the Surveys of 1277 and 1221 give us exactly the same area as that which is recorded in *Domesday*, and exactly the same number to the virgate. This is, indeed, the essence of his case, the proof that his theories are correct.

"Accordingly, in the case of Wilburton he gives us the area recorded in *Domesday* and the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. And in each case the area of the virgate is precisely the same, namely, 24 acres. This convincing proof rests on two legs. (1) That *Domesday* records an aggregate area of 864 acres (with a virgate of 24 acres); that the Survey of 1277 records an aggregate area of 864 acres. With the second of these demonstrations I am not now concerned. It may be right, or it may not. *In any case, I confine myself to "Domesday"*. How then does Mr. Pell extract from *Domesday* the above figures? By the simplest of all processes. He finds that he requires to prove for his purpose that the *terra ad carucam* of the *homines* in *Domesday* was here 108 acres composed of four-and-a-half virgates of 24 statute acres each. And how does he prove it? He simply assumes it; here are his own words: 'Assuming for the present that at Wilburton the *terra ad unam carucam* of the *homines* at any rate consisted

of four-and-a-half virgates of 24 statute acres each, and each being a *plena terra*.' These words, which occur incidentally between brackets, are all the proof Mr. Pell attempts to adduce. *Domesday* tells us nothing more than that there are seven ploughlands, of which three were *in dominio;* but Mr. Pell unhesitatingly assumes precisely what he has to prove, viz.: that the four remaining ploughlands consisted each of 108 acres divided into 4½ virgates. Now, if we turn to his Table III (p. 100), we find that for the dozen manors, of which Wilburton is one, he allows himself a range of from 60 acres to 120 acres for the area of the tenants' *terra*, and of from 1½ to 4½ virgates as its contents. What ground then has he for assuming that in this case of Wilburton, and in this alone, the area was 108 acres and the component virgates 4½? None whatever, either from *Domesday* or from the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. He has simply pitched on these figures because they are those which he requires, and having done so, he actually produces them as proof that his theories are correct. Surely no more startling inversion of proof has ever been gravely set forth by mortal man.

"But even this is not all. Mr. Pell, not being able, even by this assumption, to evolve from *Domesday* that area of 864 acres which he requires, boldly inserts 39 acres, and thus produces his total. Now remember that the total is professedly extracted from the evidence of *Domesday* and the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. Yet in neither of these records is there one word of *pratum*, still less about 39 acres. They are absolutely silent on the point."

To this rhodomontade of Mr. Round's I can truthfully say, surely no more unique and unscrupulous criticism has ever been gravely put forth by mortal man.

Verily the proof *does* rest on two legs astride of *Domesday*, the one before and the other after, and why should Mr. Round presume to amputate either of them? And (to use his own expressive term) to *cook* them; can it be that he wants to *cook* me as a mischievous heretic? He takes no notice whatever of the pre-*Domesday* evidence, and little or none of that that comes after, but, as he says, "he confines himself to *Domesday*." Let me tell him this, and I say it without any disrespect to him, he may stare at *Domesday* for a week, have recourse to the refuge of the destitute—namely, the imputing blunders in *D. Bk.* (which he has now twice done in this short discussion), in other words, cook it as often as he likes, and yet be no wiser at the end of it than he is now. It is only by comparing *Domesday* with such evidence as we can get from other MSS. before and after that we can hope to interpret. And what right has he to say, in regard to the *pratum*, that I profess to extract it from the evidence of *Domesday* and the *Inquisitio?* The thing is untrue. On the contrary, I set out the exact entries of both, and, referring as they do only to the taxed land, I get the

existence of untaxed *pratum* from the words "preter prata", used in the *Historia Eliensis*, and the amount of it, *i.e.*, 39 acres, from the MS. of 1277, both of which MSS. Mr. Round totally ignores. Nor does the matter end there. Mr. Round is wise in his generation of critics in suppressing the pre-*Domesday* evidence, which says "ita quod v integræ hidæ ibi habentur et totum hundredum unius cujusque emptionis fuit in testimonium". These 5 hidæ of A.D. 975 I have shown *ante* to be (reckoned by the *Ang. num.*) about 864 acres, and the actual area shown by the MS. of 1277 to be about 864. The assumption is a pretty safe one that the actual area of the land also taxed as 5 hides in *Domesday Book* is also about 864. In dealing with the "car.", I point out (which Mr. Round also ignores) that if you take them to be seven, as *Domesday* puts it, that is, three to the lord and four to the tenants, this gives 3×144 for the lord, assisted as he would be by the tenants, and 4 of 108 to the tenants, total 864; or if you take it as the *Inquisitio Eliensis* puts it, at 8 average "car.", it gives $8 \times 108 = 864$.

The last candid criticism on Wilburton is contained at page 134, *Round II*, and is as follows:

"The crowning evidence is coming, and may be left to speak for itself. In this, in his own manor of Wilburton, Mr. Pell tells us that the 'tres hidæ, plus one virgate of 24 acres (p. 21), *i.e.*, 384 acres.' Good! Now turn to p. 92, and we find him referring to this passage for full details, and then assuring us that the lord's 111 hidæ et 1 virg. is really 3 (120 + 24), not 360 + 24. There are other cases like this in *Domesday Book*. That is to say, that without even being aware that he is flatly contradicting himself, he first tells us that 'tres hidæ et una virgata' means 360 + 24, and then that does not mean 360 + 24, but 3 (120 + 24), *i.e.*, 360 + 72.

"See the result of tampering with the text of *Domesday Book*. You first claim the right to interpret a formula in either of two opposite ways, as may be most convenient to yourself and your end, by interpreting it all unwittingly in both."

This hardly comes well from a candid critic who omits for his own purposes whole passages of the work he professes to criticise. I should be inclined to say with Mr. Round, "Good" (for me) but bad (for him).

I will supply what Mr. Round has omitted. At the point *ante*, where "pp. 91 and 92" is placed in the margin, I give the passage omitted by Mr. Round, and I here give that to be found at page 21.

"It will be noticed first that the four *sochmanni* of *Domesday* are called *villani* in the *Inquisitio*, but we also now gather from *D. Bk.* when read

by the light thrown upon it by the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (assuming for the present that at Wilburton the *terra ad unam carucam* of the *homines* at any rate, consisted of four and a half virgates of 24 statute acres each, and each being a *plena terra*) that in the year 1086 the land at Wilburton was held as follows :

	A.
Terra ad carucam of three hides *in dominio* plus one virgate of 24 acres (worked by manorial ploughs assisted by 4 *carucæ hominum*) ...	384
Pratum	39
Terra ad carucam in the occupation of nine *villani quisque de decem acris*) (by the greater hundred)	108
4 *alii villani de una virgata*	24
Terra ad carucam in the occupation of the *homines in opere*	300
9 *cotarii*	9
Total	864

The whole *terra ad carucam* of the *homines* being equal to the work of four eight-ox ploughs, as stated in *D. Bk.*, taking 108 acres each."

Now I would ask anyone who reads the two accounts what right Mr. Round has to say there is any contradiction. The details are exactly the same in page 92 as at page 21. At page 21 I give the explanation, as contained in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, of the 4 car., which is 360 + 24 = 384 + 9 cotarii = 432 of the lord's demesne, and at page 91 I give the explanation according to *D. Bk.* of the 3 (120 + 24), which includes the 9 cotarii of the demesne = 432, and 3 car. of 144, and I purposely show how, in whichever way the passages are read, the 3 hides and 1 virgate with 4 car. are the same as the other with 3 car., *i.e.*, 3 (120 × 24).

As I said before, I took the case of Wilburton in addition to those I took in *Pell II*, but I will go into no more, as they have all been treated in the same way by Mr. Round, and my time is too valuable to me to do that ; but I will ease my mind in regard to his statement at p. 138, that

"The burden of my complaint is this : Mr. Pell leads us at every step to believe that he has absolute proof of his assertions, when that proof consists of nothing but a solitary misprint or clerical error, which he tortures into evidence for his theory, or worse still, sheer assumption. Really, this is not fair to other students of the subject."

This comes well from a critic who, as I have shown above, suppresses in cold blood every scrap of proof that I give.

The question Mr. Round is dealing with is as to hida and carucata meaning the same thing, and Mr. Round again omits what I put in, and falsely inserts the Pavetone entry ; the real entry is (see my Table III, No. 134): "*In ea sunt* XLIIII *hid.: et reddidit*

gildum pro VIII *hidis has possunt arare insimul* LX *car. De his habet episcopus in dominio* I *hid. et* III *car. et villani habent* XLIII *hid. et* XL *car.*", and not simply as *carr.*

He puts it "villani habent XLIII hidas". If he will look at Bracton's *Note-Book*, p. 69, he will find a record running, "de I carucata terre"; this, in the Judges' Roll of the same proceedings, is written, not "carucata", but "hida"; but, then, I suppose Bracton did not know so much as Mr. Round, though it is singular that the latter complains of want of proof, when he omits every proof I give; *ex. gr.*, why did he stop at the words, "*under what circumstances, and why this should have been the case, it is hard to say*"? I gave plenty of proof after them, and he omitted every word.

The only other point that remains is the question of the *Anglicus numerus*, as contained in his fifth axiom—see *ante*. His complaint as to this has dwindled down in *Round II* to a wonder that 5 might with the Anglo-Saxons mean 6; that, I should have thought, he always would have known since he knew anything and bought walnuts; but he makes no attempt at explanation why the same 25 men by name are each said to hold 15 or $7\frac{1}{2}$ in the Hundred Rolls, while in the contemporaneous MS. they are said to hold 18 and 9. Here they are again:

(*Hundred Rolls*, 1279.)	(*MS. L.E.*, 1277.)
MAGNA SHELFORD. DE SERVIS.	MAGNA SHELFORD. DE DIMIDIIS VIRGATIS.
Nicholas Dilkes 15	18
William Almer 15	18
Robert King 15	18
Richard Bode 15	18
John Wray 15	18
Hereward Samar 15	18
Suneman ad Pot 15	18
William Blize 15	18
Henry Godfrey 15	18
Richard Hochele 15	18
William King 15	18
William Samar 15	18
Thom. fil. Walt. 15	18
John Samar 15	18
ALIIS SERVIS.	DE TENENTIBUS NOVEM ACRAS.
Albertus Molendinus $7\frac{1}{2}$	9
Abel Faukes $7\frac{1}{2}$	9
John Lessy $7\frac{1}{2}$	9
William Lessy $7\frac{1}{2}$	9
Adam Rolf $7\frac{1}{2}$	9

Aliis Servis.	De tenentibus Novem acras.
Richard Hug $7\frac{1}{2}$	 9
John Turburn $7\frac{1}{2}$	 9
Folkes $7\frac{1}{2}$	 9
Richard De Bery $7\frac{1}{2}$	 9
John Chauter $7\frac{1}{2}$	 9
William Rolf $7\frac{1}{2}$	 9

and in *Pell II*, page 356, are my remarks, which Mr. Round ignores. I suppose he is content with saying, "it may or may not be", at any rate, he can, at any time that he is at the British Museum, look and see if I have misrepresented the matter. Can it be, however, that he has at last taken in the "pernicious heresy" that the Crown officers, two hundred years after *D. Bk.*, were still in the habit of recording in the big Hundred, and that this is the real reason of his wry faces and unpleasant attitude anent my paper?

The following is the effect of the two ways of counting:

Actual areas of acres stated in the Tables. Common Counting.			The like areas, but expressed "Iuxta estimationem Anglorum".
Bovate	6	5	Bovate.
Do.	8	$6\frac{2}{3}$	do.
Do.	9	$7\frac{1}{2}$	do.
Do.	10	$8\frac{1}{3}$	do.
Do.	12	10	do.
Do.	15	$12\frac{1}{2}$	do.
Do.	16	$13\frac{1}{3}$	do.
Do.	18	15	do.
Do.	20	$16\frac{2}{3}$	do.
Bovate of wara or Common Virgate	24	20	Common Virgate or Bovate of wara.
Do.	30	25	do.
Do.	32	$26\frac{2}{3}$	do.
Do.	36	30	do.
Virgate of wara or terra	48	40	Terra or Virgate of wara.
Do.	54	45	do.
Do.	60	50	do.
Do.	72	60	do.
Terra	75	$62\frac{1}{2}$	Terra.
Do.	90	75	do.
Do.	96	80	do.
Do.	108	90	do.
Domesday geldable hide, terra [ad car., or carucate	120	100	Note! The geldable hide, terra ad car., or carucate, is reached, not by expanding 100 up to 120, but shrinking 144 to 120
Terra	144	120	Terra.
Do.	160	$133\frac{1}{3}$	do.
Do.	180	150	do.
Do.	192	160	do.
Do.	216	180	do.
Do. of wara	240	200	do. of wara.
Do.	288	240	do.

Every one of the above instances I have met with in *post Domesday* MSS., and the generality of people are little aware how late the actual practice of Anglo-Saxon counting came down, and how, in the same manor, the demesne might be counted in our common counting, and the *villenagium* in the Anglo-Saxon ; and that, in consequence, in some MSS. they took the precaution to state the hundred by which they were counting ; *ex. gr.*, in the Manor of Wilburton, in the Survey of 1277 (see *ante*), the demesne is reckoned by the lesser hundred and the sheep by the greater hundred. Again, who would page a book now by the big hundred ; yet so long after *Domesday* as the *Ramsey Chartulary*, that was paged in it.

I wonder if Mr. Round will call this "an angry retort". I am sure I do not intend it to be one. The prevailing feeling with me has been one of wonder at Mr. Round's unique way of criticising, mixed with some amusement that he unwittingly "blew to pieces" matter in my paper which largely composed the paper of Canon Isaac Taylor, which, he said, was a lucid paper written with marked success. After this second criticism of Mr. Round, I feel more and more the justice of the concluding paragraph of *Pell II.* Much of the time that has been spent in writing papers with imperfect materials to work on, would have been better spent by the writers in accumulating knowledge for the purpose by a careful comparison of *Domesday Book* with old MSS., instead of "confining themselves to *D. Bk.*" Writers (and especially Mr. Round), if they had done so, would have been surprised at the little change that had taken place in the tenures between 1066 and the thirteenth century ; in some cases the number of hides is exactly the same in *Domesday* and in the Hundred Rolls, and we are thus enabled to make a comparison between the details of such manors in the Hundred Rolls and in *Domesday*. I give the names of some at *Pell I*, p. 360, with the references in *D. Bk.* and the Hundred Rolls, and it is only the knowledge to be gained by such tedious and disagreeable work which can justify anyone in his conclusions on the subject when writing a paper on his own behalf, or in condemning another man's work.

I give, in conclusion, a "ready reckoner" as to the joint operation of the *Ang. num.* and the non-taxation of fallow, for those (as Mr. Round describes them) who have not the "brains to scale the giddy heights of calculation", if any such there be besides Mr. Round.

O. C. Pell.

A "READY RECKONER".

Anglico Numero, same taxation.												Norman Numbers, same taxation.							
Wara, 3 course.				Wara, 2 course.				Simple.				Simple.	Wara, 2 course.			Wara, 3 course.			F means fallow untaxed; S means surplusage caused by Ang. Num. Wara means fallow untaxed, and not appearing in D. Bk.
Total.	Extra hidam. F	Extra hidam. S	Infra. hid. D. Bk.	Total.	Extra hidam. F	Extra hidam. S	Infr. hid. D. Bk.	Total.	Extr. hid.	Infr. hid. D. Bk.		Infr. hid. D. Bk.	Infr. hid. D. Bk.	Extr. hid. F	Total.	Infr. hid. D. Bk.	Extr. hid. F	Total.	
24	8	$2\frac{2}{3}$	$13\frac{1}{3}$	24	12	2	10	12	2	10	Bovate	10	10	10	20	$13\frac{1}{3}$	$6\frac{2}{3}$	20	NOTE.—If the surplusage arising from the Anglicus numerus is taken off by reducing the number of areal hides or car. (for instance, where 6 hides or car. are reduced to five) there would of course be no further reduction in the individual areas; consequently there would be five virgates of 24 in every 120 instead of 6 of 20+4[a] ex. hi.: so, too, in the same event the numbers marked * would be developed.
24	*8	0	*16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
36	12	4	20	36	18	3	15	18	3	15	„	15	15	15	30	20	10	30	
48	16	$5\frac{1}{3}$	$26\frac{2}{3}$	48	24	4	20	24	4	20	Virgate	20	20	20	40	$26\frac{2}{3}$	$13\frac{1}{3}$	40	
48	*16	0	*32	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
72	24	8	40	72	36	6	30	36	6	30	„	30	30	30	60	40	20	60	
96	32	$10\frac{2}{3}$	$53\frac{1}{3}$	96	48	8	40	48	8	40	„	40	40	40	80	$53\frac{1}{3}$	$26\frac{2}{3}$	80	
96	*32	0	*64	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	
144	48	16	80	144	72	12	60	72	12	60	Terra	60	60	60	120	80	40	120	
**162	54	18	90	216	108	18	90	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
192	64	$21\frac{1}{3}$	$106\frac{2}{3}$	192	96	16	80	96	16	80	„	80	80	80	160	$106\frac{2}{3}$	$53\frac{1}{3}$	160	
192	*64	0	*128	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	108	18	90	„	90	90	90	180	120	60	180	
288	96	32	160	288	144	24	120	144	24	120	„	120	120	120	240	160	80	240	

The ** is the exact case of the libere tenentes or the IX villani quisque de X acris of the D. Bk. and MS. of 1277 at Wilburton, *ante*; the 90 acres of D. Bk. representing (*pace* Mr. Round) an actual area of 162 acres.

NOTES ON PRIMITIVE RESIDENCES.

IN prehistoric archæology a very considerable section is occupied by the remains, sometimes structural, sometimes consisting of mere deposits of domestic utensils, of early dwelling-places. In savage archæology we meet with examples of early dwelling-places peopled still by those who built or adapted them. If there is an overlapping of these two departments of archæology at any given point they must illustrate and elucidate each other, because they both deal with the same phenomenon—the swarming of the human groups into their shells during a vast period of time. It is important therefore to ascertain, if possible, whether such an overlapping does take place, and if so, at what point.

But to accomplish this task with anything like success it would be necessary to gather together the evidence, now almost hopelessly scattered, as to the dwelling-places and the home economy of the savage races. Only one authority, so far as I know, has paid close attention to this subject, namely, the late Mr. Lewis Morgan, but his book relates entirely to the evidence derived from the American Indians. His researches, however, into this branch of the human race are so true that it is not unimportant to note that they are confirmed in all essential particulars when we extend the area to other uncivilised peoples. For the rest it would be necessary to pick our way among the recorded observances of travellers who have seldom noted the essentials of savage economies.

Mr. Tyler has remarked that "thinking of the nests of birds, the dams of beavers, the tree platforms of apes, it can scarcely be supposed that man at any time was unable to build himself a shelter."[1] That he does not do so is due to causes which are inseparably connected, though how we cannot exactly say, with the form of the society in which he is living. In such types of society, which may perhaps best be identified with the primitive human horde to which Mr. MacLennan worked back,[2] there is no room for artificially-built dwellings. Such, for instance, are the wild Bushmen of South Africa. "A cave with its opening protected by a

[1] *Anthropology*, p. 229.

[2] Cf. my paper in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xvii, 118-133.

few branches, or the centre of a small circle of thorn-trees round which skins of wild animals were stretched, was the best dwelling-place that they aspired to possess; if neither of these was within their reach, they scooped out a hole in the ground, placed a few sticks or stones round it, and spread a skin above to serve as a roof, or sometimes nothing more than a rude mat on the side from which the wind was blowing; a little grass at the bottom of the hole formed a bed, and though it was not much larger than the nest of an ostrich, a whole family would manage to lie down in it."[1] This is the indiscriminate "squatting" of a human horde, the atoms of which are kept together by forces which operate from outside, instead of by forces originating from the recognition and use of the ties of blood relationship, as among more advanced peoples. The use of constructed dwellings would not fit in with the mental attitude or with the unregulated individualism of this stage of human life, and accordingly it seems possible to date the rise of a permanent form of dwelling from the time when blood kinship began to be utilised in the building-up of society. Much profitless discussion has taken place upon Mr. MacLennan's theory as to a period in human history when blood relationship was not recognised. That blood relationship has always *de facto* existed of course needs no proof; that it has always to some extent been one of the means of calling forth the springs of natural affection in the human race may be accepted also as a general fact; that it has not always been utilised as the foundation of political societies, that it has not always been made the cement which bound large groups of men and women together, are the points to which Mr. MacLennan has directed attention.

But these and other important matters of research into prehistoric and savage archæology must really be deferred until we have more details ready to hand as to the conditions of life as governed by the residences of primitive races. I have been at some pains to dive into this extensive subject, and now propose to present to the reader some few of the facts I have gathered together. Let me admit at once that they are facts only collected for future use. They will serve to show how significant the types of residence are; and they will, I hope, serve to show that it behoves us to ask for such evidence with more careful attention than hitherto.

I begin with the types presented by some of the rudest tribes of man in Australia; I shall then note the types among the hill

[1] Theal's *Compendium of South African History*, p. 55.

tribes of Asia, and among some of the island natives of that continent; and I shall finish the present article by noting the particulars of the northern tribes of the Eskimoes. These examples will be sufficient for the present purpose.

The principal habitation of the Australian aborigines is the permanent family dwelling, which is made of strong limbs of trees, stuck up in dome shape, high enough to allow a tall man to stand upright underneath them. Small limbs fill up the intermediate spaces, and these are covered with sheets of bark thatch, sods and earth, till the roof and sides are proof against wind and rain. The doorway is low, and generally faces the morning sun or a sheltering rock. The family wuurn is sufficiently large to accommodate a dozen or more persons, and when the family is grown up, the wuurn is partitioned off into apartments, each facing the fire in the centre. One of these is appropriated to the parents and children, one to the young unmarried women and widows, and one to the bachelors and widowers. When several families live together, each builds its wuurn facing one central fire. This fire is not much used for cooking, which is generally done outside. Thus, in what appears to be one dwelling, fifty or more persons can be accommodated. These habitations are occupied by the owners of the land in the neighbourhood. At the time of marriage, the bridegroom is conducted by his bridesmen to a new wuurn (habitation) erected for him by his friends, and his wife is taken to it by her bridesmaids.[1] The territory belonging to a tribe is divided among its members. Each family has the exclusive right by inheritance to a part of the tribal lands, which is named after its owner; and his family and every child born on it must be named after something on the property. No individual of any neighbouring tribe or family can hunt or walk over the property of another without permission from the head of the family owning the land.[2] When the father of a family dies, his landed property is divided equally among his widow and his children of both sexes. Should a child of another family have been born on the estate, it is looked upon as one of the family, and it has an equal right with them to a share of the land, if it has attained the age of six months at the death of a proprietor. Should a family die out without leaving "flesh relatives" of any degree, the chief divides the land among the contiguous families after the lapse of one year from the death of the last survivor. If there are several claimants, with equal

[1] Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, pp. 10-11, 32.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

rights to the territory, the chief at once gives each an equal share, irrespective of sex or age.[1]

In New Zealand each family has its own house, surrounded by a fence, and when the families are large, three or four houses are joined together.[2] The huts are constructed of coarse grass or rushes, with roofs of the same material on wooden frames, painted red. The ridge-pole is supported by a post in the middle of the house, the bottom of which was often a carved human figure. Immediately before it is the fireplace, a small pit formed by four slab-stones sunk in the ground. There are two openings to each hut. There is a verandah three feet in breadth in front of the huts, made of slabs and reeds. The following is the measurement of an average-sized hut: breadth inside, 13 feet; length, 15 feet; height, 6 feet; height of sides, 4 feet. In such an apartment five persons sleep.[3]

The Mbondemo tribe, who live on the mountains of the interior, east of Cape Lopez, leave their villages as soon as the surrounding vegetation is exhausted. The houses are mostly of a uniform size, generally from 12 to 15 feet long, and 8 to 10 feet wide. They are built on both sides of a long and tolerably wide street, and invariably join each other. The chief's house and the palaver house are larger than the others. The ends of the street are barricaded with stout sticks or palisades, and at night the doors or gates of the village are firmly closed. The houses have no windows, and doors only on the side towards the street; and when the door of the street is locked, the village is in fact a fortress, which is often further protected by blocking up the surrounding approaches with thorny brushwood. The interior of the house is divided by a bark partition into two rooms; one the kitchen, where everybody sits or lies down on the ground about the fire; the other the sleeping-apartment. This last is perfectly dark, and in it are stowed away provisions and valuables. To ascertain how large a Mbondemo household is, you have only to count the little doors which open into the various sleeping-apartments; so many doors, so many wives, is the proverbial expression.[4]

Among the tribes inhabiting between the Senegal and the Gambia, and named the Geloffes, the Severes, and the Barbecins, the houses were made of straw, the shape being a sort of dome about four paces in diameter. The roof is made of straw and palm branches, and the walls of palm branches or straw interlaced.

[1] Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 7.
[2] Pinkerton, ix, 542.
[3] Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, i, 208.
[4] Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, 49-50.

The dome is supported by five or six poles. The entrance is very small, and can only be entered on all-fours. The flooring is of sand. The beds are formed of a quantity of sticks twice as thick as the thumb, placed a short distance from each other, and joined together by a cord somewhat like a hurdle. Large crooked sticks fill up the spaces. These beds are supported by poles. These houses are placed in villages; and each householder will have as many as his requirements need. The house of the great chief will sometimes be composed of as many as thirty divisions that they call combettes. Each wife has a separate house. The more important are enclosed by palisades of straw and thorn, supported here and there by stakes. They till the ground surrounding the villages. Placing themselves four or five together in the field, and with a sort of round palette of iron a little larger than the hand, and with a wooden handle, they scrape the earth, which they throw before them, and which they do not penetrate deeper than three or four inches deep. They then sow this ground much in the same way as they sow peas in France. Among their industrial occupations are blacksmiths, tailors, and potters.[1]

In Central South Africa the site for a town having been chosen, a circular hedge of about two or three yards high, and almost as thick, of sharp thorn-bush, is made to surround the whole, and at once convert it into a fortification against wolves, lions, and other night enemies, but leaving here and there a place for the gateway. Another fence of thornless trees is then made inside this, about twenty paces distant, but of the same shape. In this inner enclosure the large-horned cattle sleep. Between the two hedges, in irregular clusters, the dwelling-houses are built, as well as the sheep-folds and the small kraals for the cows and calves. The hut is in form hemispherical, and when completed has the appearance of a hay-cock. The wall, about 6 inches thick and 5 feet high, is made of a mixture of clay and cow-dung, as nearly circular as possible, tapering inwards as it ascends. An aperture of about 18 inches or 2 feet wide, and of about the same height, arched at the top, is left on one side as the doorway, which is closed with a small wattle fitted in between two posts driven into the ground near the wall outside, one on either side. The roof, consisting sometimes of wattles, and at other times of long poles and branches of trees, is thatched with the long dog-grass so abundant in the country, and is supported in the centre by a long wooden

[1] *Voyage to the Canaries, Cape Verd, and the Coast of Africa*, 1682. Translated from the French of M. le Maire by E. Goldsmid, 1887, pp. 32, 48, 58.

pillar, which is generally forked at the top. Between this pillar and the only aperture belonging to the house, is a hollow, about 18 inches in diameter, made in the floor, into which the bottom of a large broken clay pot is to be fitted as a fire-grate. Behind the same pillar a portion of the hut is set apart for a wardrobe, pantry, and general store-room by constructing a strong rim of ant-hill clay, a foot high from one point of the wall to another, and of the same shape inverted. . . . On the two sides of the fire, each one rolled in an ox-hide upon a fine rush mat, and a small bench or block of wood for a pillow, are seen the sleeping natives. In front of the hut is a small enclosure made with wattles. This serves for a brewery, cook-house, mill, eating and sitting-room.[1]

All Dahomean villages consist of a series of huts and court-yards within an enclosing wall.[2]

The Caribs lived in villages consisting of several cabins, which were constructed of poles fixed circularly in the ground, drawn to a point at the top and covered with the leaves of the palm tree. Several families occupied a single house, which is not partitioned off, but there is no community of utensils. At the time of marriage the husband, after having served his wife's parents for some time, leads her where he pleases and establishes his own household. In the centre of each village stood the "Karbet", or meeting-house, an edifice of superior construction and dimensions to the rest. There they met on public occasions. The old women were admitted to the council. They manufactured vessels of clay, and baskets of the fibre of palmetto leaves. They lived on the produce of their gardens, the fruits of the forest, fish, wild-fowl, etc., and occasionally took their meals in common in the "Karbet". The women attended to the agricultural work, and the men never interfered. Sharp stones and wooden spades were their sole implements of agriculture. Each tribe has its own hunting-ground, and each family its own plantations. Over the communities formed by the village a chieftain presides, called in the Carib language, Yuputorikung, whose authority is only acknowledged to its full extent during wars; his power and influence are derived from his personal qualities; his hereditary dignity from his mother.[3] Whenever they heard of any projected expedition against those of their nation in a neighbouring island, they immediately abandoned family and home and flew to their assistance.

[1] Thomas, *Central South Africa*, 174-175.
[2] Sketchley, *Dahomey as It Is*, p. 78; see also p. 496.
[3] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, iii, 60; *Journ. Ethnol. Soc.*, i, 267-268.

In New Guinea each village seemed to be independent, and to have its own chief. Some of the villages consist of a few houses only, one consisting of four. The houses are remarkable for their great length, and are almost invariably built upon piles from ten to twenty-five feet high, even when located upwards of a thousand feet above the sea-level. The gable-end, where the principal entrance is situated, faces the sea, and has a platform in front where the men spend the most of their time. At the other end is a door and platform, used by the women. Access is had to these platforms from without by notched logs. The interior has no partition, but consists of one apartment, occasionally divided by mats hung up. Each house is occupied by a number of married couples. On the slopes near the village are numerous small clearings, neatly fenced in, on which various esculent plants are cultivated. The ground was first cleared by fire and then broken up by digging with pointed sticks. All their tools were of stone.[1]

The villages of some tribes of equatorial Africa are intermingled with each other. There is no special landmark assigned to each tribe, every village squats and settles where it chooses, and every now and then the traveller will be astonished to see a village belonging to a certain tribe far removed from it. Each tribe is divided into clans. The children belong to the clan of their mother, and these cannot marry among themselves, though there exists no objection to possessing a father's or a brother's wife. Polygamy is the rule. All the tribes are much given to petty quarrels. They worship serpents, birds, rocks, mountains, feathers, teeth, claws, skins, and brains of animals.[2]

We will now turn to the wild tribes of Asia. Several of the tribal groups of the Brŏkpàs of Tibet have a communal dwelling in which every inhabitant has a place. That of Dàh is very curious. It covers a considerable space in the angle between the Indus and a side stream. The interior consists of an intricate maze of passages, some open and some covered in, which may be considered either as the lanes of a tightly-packed village, or rather as the passages of a vast single-storied house which forms the common dwelling of the whole community, each household having its separate apartment or den. Here the people always live during winter. They all, however, have other houses for summer out in the fields.[3] The tribe is subdivided into several

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vi, 106-112, 214-215.

[2] *Journ. Ethnological Society*, New Series, i, 305, 307, 321.

[3] *Stray Aryans in Tibet*, by R. B. Shaw ; *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, xlvii, 33-34.

groups. The people of each group consider themselves to be one community. The Dàh group reckon from seven ancestors who first colonised their villages. The land of Dàh is still divided according to those families, though some of it has changed hands. Each man knows his own ancestry (real or imaginary), and each field is known as belonging to the patrimony of one of the seven fathers of the tribe. The remaining groups have similar traditions. There does not appear to be any difference between the tenure of lands adjoining the common dwelling-houses and the outlying fields.

On the Burmese frontier the houses of the people in the village were ranged more or less in lines, and though long, were parallel, leaving room enough for a road in between each. They were invariably raised platforms with the Jengo roof, coming well down over the sides, an arched and rounded end in front, beyond which the platform always projected, so as to enable the people to put things out in the sun, and yet be safe from the inevitable pig ; it also serves as a sort of semi-public reception-place. These houses run from 20 feet wide to 100 feet long, contain one family, and unless large are often built or rebuilt in a remarkably short time. While at Bor Phakial the *Gáonbúrá's* house was being rebuilt, and he told me that it would be done in two days by the able-bodied men and lads of the entire community, who, during the erection, are fed at the owner's expense —a custom which prevails more or less all over eastern Bengal, Assam, and the hills adjacent. In the village is a *Chang* or sacred house into which no females are allowed to enter. It is raised about 7 feet on wooden posts, measuring 35 × 50 feet. Six of the central posts are continued up to carry a second central raised roof.[1]

Tkak is a village consisting of ten houses on a space facing the Nambong valley. The houses were not arranged on any plan, but just built where the owner had a fancy, on a fragment of level, eked out by posts not over 30 or 40 yards apart. No two houses consequently were on the same level or faced the same way. They were more or less on the same pattern, *i.e.*, a long, bamboo shed, with floor raised on posts some 4 or 5 feet. It is singular how this custom survives even among people who have left the hills and been resident in the plains for some 500 or 600 years, as, for example, the Devohaings, who came in as Ahoms in 1228, and are

[1] *Report of a Visit to the Nongyang Lake on the Burmese Frontier*, by S. E. Peal ; *Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. l, 1881, part 2, p. 7 (Nágas).

now seen occupying a few scattered villages not far from the Disang river in the Sibságar district. The Aitonias and the Miris also afford other examples. The custom in all cases seems due to the necessity of keeping the floor out of the reach of pigs and goats. It may be called the Pile platform system, and to some extent marks a race distinction between Aryans and non-Aryans. It is probably the same system which occurs throughout the Malay peninsula, and has latterly been traced in the Swiss lake-dwellings and present Swiss chalet.[1]

The average number of houses in a Khyeng village is fourteen, and in each of these little communities there is a head called Tayi or Nandayi. The office passes from father to any son he considers best qualified for it; in default of such a successor the office may be held by the father's brothers, but it never passes out of the family; when extinct, the village has to join another community. The Nandayi presides at all festivals, settles disputes, and acts as priest in conjunction with the elders of the village. Marriage is dissoluble at the will of either party. On the death of the parents, two-thirds of the property pass to the eldest son, the remainder is divided among the younger sons. The houses are constructed of wooden posts, which vary from nine to sixteen in number. The walls and floor are made of bamboo matting, and the roof is composed of grass or leaves. The length of the house varies from 12 to 16 cubits, and it is about 8 to 12 cubits broad. There are two apartments, the sleeping and the cooking, with an open verandah in front of the latter. The flooring is raised some 4 or 5 feet from the ground, and the swine and poultry are enclosed beneath it.[2]

The Gáros always build temporary huts in the fields they are cultivating, and generally reside in them during the season of the year in which the crops are in the ground. The village sites are generally permanent, but the cultivation sites change year by year, *i.e.*, a new clearance is made every year, and new huts built thereon. Each village has certain well-defined boundaries. The houses of the interior villages are well built, and are very long, and raised about 4 feet off the ground. In every village is the *bolbang*, or young men's house, the largest in the place, built upon very upright posts, the front beam adorned with some little carving. The

[1] *Report of a Visit to the Nongyang Lake on the Burmese Frontier*, by S. E. Peal; *Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. l, 1881, part 2, p. 15.

[2] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, xliv, p. 44-46.

floor is at least 12 feet, often more, above the ground, ascended by notched logs. The roof is solidly thatched. In this house all the unmarried males live as soon as they attain the age of puberty.[1]

The system of cultivation is for all the members of the community to cultivate contiguous parcels of land, each family selecting a portion large enough for its own requirements, and depending entirely on its own labours for its supply. The soil is allowed to lie fallow for a certain number of years, generally from seven to ten, according to the extent of the village lands and the number of the inhabitants.[2]

The Pádam tribe of the Abars live in considerable villages, one of which contained certainly 120 houses. The houses are nearly all of one size, about 50 feet in length by 20 in breadth, with a verandah or porch, one hearth, and no inner enclosure. The flooring is of bamboo, and is 4 feet from the ground; the walls and doors are of planks, and the thatching, which comes down on all sides as low as the flooring to keep off high winds, is of grass, or more commonly of dried leaves of the wild plantain. They are not intended for the accommodation of more than one married couple. Girls, till they are married, occupy the same house as their fathers and mothers; boys and young men live in the *morang* or town-hall, which is situated in a conspicuous part of the village, and is of the same style of architecture as the private houses, being about 200 feet in length, and having sixteen or seventeen fireplaces. When a man marries he leaves his paternal roof, and sets up a house for himself. In building this, he is assisted by the whole community, and the house is framed, floored, thatched, and ready for occupation in four-and-twenty hours.

Each village is governed by a council, the elders or gáms congregating round the central fireplace of the *morang*. No one is permitted to arrogate the position of chief, but a leader naturally asserts himself. The most trivial and the most important matters are there discussed, an order being necessary to regulate the day's work.

They have a wide area of cultivation. It is almost all in the plains, and in one case they have gradually extended it to a distance of about seven miles from the village. Against unnecessary breaking up new lands, they have a wholesome prejudice; when the land they cultivate appears exhausted, they go to that which had been longest fallow. The boundaries of each man's clearing are

[1] Hunter, *Stat. Acc. of Assam*, ii, 152, 164.
[2] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, ii, 393.

denoted by upright stones, and property is cultivated and fallow-land is recognised. Monogamous marriages are practised, and they do not marry out of their own clan.[1]

The Mikirs of the Nowgong district of Assam live in huts raised on bamboo platforms some fifteen to twenty feet above the ground. Generally speaking they live in isolated homesteads a long distance from each other, but sometimes collect together in small villages of about twenty houses.

Agriculture forms the principal occupation of these people, the chief crops being rice and cotton. They cultivate their land on the júm system by selecting a hill side, clearing it of jungle by fire, and raising heavy crops for three or four years in succession until the soil becomes impoverished, when they abandon the land for newer soil. Their agricultural implements consist only of the hoe (kadáli) and the hand-bill (dáo). They marry when of full age, selecting their own wives, and after marriage live in the house of the wife's parents for two years, when they build a dwelling for themselves.[2]

The houses of the Maiwár Bhils are scattered sometimes for miles along the sides of the hills, each house being often half a mile apart from its neighbour. A platform of stones and earth is generally erected on the slope of a hill, and on this is raised a loose stone wall; the roof is of timber and flat tiles. In some places they are mere thatched bee-hives. They are substantial, commodious and clean, often having a courtyard in the centre. The back of the building usually looks towards a hill, to enable the owner to flee to its summit when his fears suggest a hostile approach. Many deserted and ruined houses may be seen, but a pál, that is, the group of houses, is never abandoned.

The system of agriculture is very rude. The ground is merely scratched below or near the hut of the labourer, and the seed thrown in broadcast. The ploughing takes place during the rains. Wood is burnt as a manure; the fields are surrounded with temporary hedges of thorn bushes to keep off animals. The principal source of wealth is the rearing of cattle on the hills. Their favourite beverage is the spirit distilled from the flower of the mhowa tree; every tree has its owner, however remote in the jungle.

The agricultural implements are a rough sort of spade, a kul-

[1] Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, i, 334-342; Dalton, *Ethnology of India*, 64.

[2] Hunter's *Statistical Account of Assam*, i, 183; Dalton, *Ethnology of India*, 61.

hári or hatchet, a khanti or crowbar with a sharp point, a khurpá for cutting grass, a plough, and a common piece of flat wood which takes the place of a harrow.

The heads of villages and other men of mark form a panchâyat. The office of headman in the village is usually hereditary. The Bhils are very clannish.

In succession to property the wife and son succeed, and support the rest of the family. If the son is not friendly, or there is no son, the wife takes all; in default of wife or son a brother succeeds. The prominence of the wife shows that she is looked upon as an equal, while the deposition to the brother proves that there is a desire to keep the property in the family of the man.[1]

The Kasen villages vary from ten to one hundred houses or families, and in some of the Red Kasen villages there are two or three hundred families. Each village, with its scant domain, is an independent state, and there is no settled government or regularly constituted chiefs. Every village has its elders, who are the depositories of the laws, both moral and political, civil and criminal. There is not a village, perhaps, without an unsettled feud with some other village, and sometimes one part of a village will adhere to one leader and another part to another leader, and the dissension is settled by a fight.

Among the southern Karen tribes each family has a separate house, though sometimes several families of relatives occupy the same building. These houses are built on one plan. The front is at one end, where the ladder by which they are entered leads into the hall, which is a verandah. The main body of the building consists of one room, with a fireplace in the middle that serves to divide it into two apartments, in which the different members of the family, when large, sleep.

Most of the Karen tribes change their fields annually, and move their dwellings every two or three years, to be near their cultivation; and they build temporary houses of bamboos, leaves and ratan. They clear a few acres of land, burn them over near the close of the dry season, the ashes serving as manure; and when the first showers fall they plant a paddy. Each village has its own lands, and if they are large in comparison with the inhabitants they are able to cultivate new fields for six or seven years; but if their lands are small they are compelled to come back to their former cultivation in three or four years. In this way the Kasens move around their scant domains, like the moon in her

[1] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, xliv, 355-359.

orbit, so as to present the same phases after intervals of very few years. While each village has its own lands and boundaries as one, and which they call a country, the lands of each village are divided among many owners, as in other countries.

The father wills his property to his children, but always giving the eldest son the largest share, and sometimes a little more to the youngest son than to those between. Nothing is given to the widow, but she is entitled to the use of the property till her death.[1]

The Nagas inhabit the frontiers of the district of Sibsagar in Assam. They are split up into numerous communities of about twenty houses each, each clan under a separate chief, and each speaking different dialects. The different tribes intermarry, though they are constantly at war among themselves.

The dwelling-houses are generally large, roomy buildings, the ridge poles of which almost touch the ground at one end, as do the eaves on each side. The interior is generally divided into two rooms, in the outer of which all household work is performed, and the cattle are housed at night. The inner room forms the sleeping apartment of the family, and is also used as a granary, being lined with large wicker baskets for storing grain.[2]

The houses of the Angámis Nagas are built with a ground-floor, the slopes of the hill being dug down to a rough level. They are generally placed in irregular lines, facing inwards, and are constructed after a very unusual, if not unique, pattern. They have high gable ends, whose eaves almost touch the ground on either end. In width the houses vary from twenty to forty feet, and in length from about thirty to sixty feet. In many villages each house is surrounded by a stone wall, marking off the compound where the cattle are tethered for the night. Half the space under the front gable is often walled in with boards as a loose stall. The house itself is divided off into from two to three compartments. In the front room the grain is stored away in huge baskets of bamboo, from five to ten feet high and about five feet in diameter. In the inner room there is a large open fireplace, and around it are placed thick broad planks for sitting and sleeping upon. The back room generally contains the "liquor-tub". From twenty to a thousand houses form a village.

They cultivate the lands both on the hills and in the jungle. The former is by the system of terrain cultivation ; the latter is by

[1] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, xxxvii, 125-127, 130, 131, 142.

[2] Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, i, 239, 358.

the system of jhúms. But though they change the site of cultivation, the house remains where it was.

The only implements of husbandry are the dâo, an axe common to almost all the frontier tribes, and a light hoe.[1]

The Miris of the valley live in small communities under hereditary chiefs, and in some instances one family has obtained sufficient influence to be acknowledged as chief over clusters of communities. The villages consists of ten or a dozen houses of as many families, built pretty closely together in some position rather difficult of access. The houses have raised floors and spaces underneath for the pigs, poultry, etc.

Every village has a certain extent of ground to which their cultivation is limited, but not more than one-fifth of this is under cultivation each season. They cultivate each patch two successive years, then suffer it to lie fallow for four or five, taking up the ground that has been longest fallow. They have a superstition against breaking up fresh ground—a dread of offending the spirits of woods by unnecessarily cutting down trees.[2]

The Bódo and Dhimál are nomadic cultivators, so little connected with any one spot that neither language possesses a name for village. They dwell in the forest in little communities consisting of from ten to forty houses, which they are perpetually shifting from place to place. Each of these communities is under a head called Grá. The head has a general authority, which, in cases of the least perplexity, is shared with the heads or meders of two or three neighbouring villages. Sons on marriage quit the parental roof. The marriage tie is dissolved by mutual consent, and remarriage takes place. The children belong to the father. They have no idea of a common tie of blood.

They never cultivate the same field beyond the second year, or remain in the same village beyond the fourth or sixth year. After the lapse of four or five years, they frequently return to their own fields and resume their cultivation, if in the interim the jungle has grown well and they have not been anticipated by others. They resume the identical fields they tilled before, but never the old house or site of the old village, that being deemed unlucky. Each family tends its own stock of animals, which is entirely consumed by that family and no part thereof sold.

They mutually assist each other in the building of their houses.

[1] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, xliv, 315-324; Hunter, *Assam*, ii, 183; Dalton, *Ethnology of India*, 72.

[2] Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, i, 343-344.

A house is from 12 to 16 cubits long, by 8 to 12 wide. A mallers house of the same sort is erected opposite for cattle; and if the family be large, two other domiciles like the first are built on the other side, so as to enclose an open quadrangle or yard. The houses are made of jungle grass, secured within and without by a trellis-work of strips of bamboo. The roof has a high and somewhat bulging pitch and a considerable projection beyond the walls. There is only one division of the interior, which separates the cooking and the sleeping portions of the house.[1]

The Kirantis, a tribe of central Himálaya, live in an extensive holding, the boundaries of which are defined by the run of the water. The villages are small, and consist of huts raised obliquely on the outer side on wooden posts, some 3 to 6 feet, so as to get a level on the slope of the hill. The size is small, because the children separate on marriage. The walls are of thick reed plastered, and the great roof of grass. Each family builds for itself.

The general, almost exclusive, status of the people is that of agriculturists. Each proprietor within his own ample limits shifts his cultivation perpetually, according as any one spot gets exhausted.

The law of inheritance gives equal shares to all the sons, and nothing to the daughters. Polygamy is not uncommon.[2]

The Singphos, on the frontiers of Assam, occupy large villages, often in somewhat unassailable positions, consisting of sixty or more large houses, each from 80 to 100 feet long and about 20 in breadth, with raised floors throughout, and open balcony at one end. The house is divided into different apartments on both sides of a long passage, open from end to end. There are generally several hearths, round which the family sleep. The girls of some villages are said to occupy a house appropriated to their use, in which, under the charge of an old woman, they receive visits from young men.

The blood feud between the Bishá gám (chief), and the Daphá gám, was the cause of dividing almost all the Singphos on the frontier, and even those tribes bordering on China are said to have been involved in the hostilities.

In succession to patrimonial property the eldest takes the land with the titles, the youngest the personalities, the intermediate males being excluded from all participation.[3]

[1] Hodgson, *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, i, 117-123, 147; Dalton, *Ethnology of India*, 39.

[2] Hodgson, *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, i, 400-402.

[3] Hunter's *Statistical Account of Assam*, i, 317-321.

The Midhis, or Chalikata Nishmees, live in villages containing from ten to thirty houses, each very lightly framed. They are long and narrow, about 60 feet by 12. One side is a narrow passage from end to end, the remainder being divided into small apartments.

They are governed by hereditary chiefs, who have considerable influence over their clansmen, but no power over their persons or property. The law of blood feud is in full force. Polygamy is the rule with chiefs, but they do not value the chastity of their wives.[1]

The Hill Miris live in houses, grouped into clans of ten or a dozen, each two or three miles apart. Every group has its chief. A description of the chief's house will suffice for the whole. It is seventy feet long ; the flooring is of split bamboos on a very substantial framework of timber, raised several feet from the ground ; the roof has gable ends, and is thatched with leaves under the gable ; a cross sloping roof covers an open balcony at each end. The interior consists of one long apartment, 60 feet long by 16 wide, from which a passage at one side, extending the entire length, is partitioned off in the large apartment down the centre. Four fires burn on hearths of earth. In the large apartment the chief and his wives sleep at the upper end or first fire, the sons and daughters round the next, and servants and retainers round the third and fourth. Their stores of grain are kept in houses apart, and their valuables are buried.

They chiefly occupy themselves in journeys to the plains, and in hunting, and each settlement has a certain extent of ground for cultivation.

Polygamy and occasional polyandry is practised. However extensive the family and the number of married couples it includes, all occupy one house.[2]

The habitations of the Hill Nishmees are usually built apart from each other, and they never congregate into villages,[3] one house is described as 160 feet long, divided into 20 apartments, all of which open into a passage, generally on the right side of the house as one enters. In each apartment is a square fire-place, consisting merely of earth, and no exit for the smoke is allowed.[4] One hundred persons are found to be accommodated in one house.[5] The land they cultivate surrounds the family houses,[6] and they are rich in flocks and herds. The possession of these herds is, next to the number of

[1] Hunter's *Statistical Account of Assam*, i, 329. [2] *Ibid.*, i, 346-349, 351.
[3] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, xiv, 290.
[4] *Ibid.*, vi, 333. [5] *Ibid.*, vi, 332 [6] *Ibid.*, xiv, 482.

their wives, the chief indication of their wealth. The heir succeeds to his father's wives, except his own mother, who would go to the next of kin amongst the males.[1]

In another part of the Bengal hill district each village has a certain extent of ground, comprising hills, sides of hills, and valleys, which they have been in the habit of cultivating from time immemorial; but not more than a fifth of this ground is under cultivation each season. They cultivate each patch two successive years, and then suffer it to be fallow for four or five, taking up again the ground that has been longest fallow in lieu. They have a superstition which deters them from breaking up fresh grounds so long as their "gra" (fallow) is sufficient—a dread of offending the spirits of the woods and forests by unnecessarily cutting down the trees.[2]

The northern Karen tribes, Bghais Mopghas, and some others, have usually one building for a whole group. There is a walk all round the building, with rooms opening into it on each side. Every married couple has a room and a fireplace of their own for domestic purposes, while the hall is common property. All around the hall is a raised platform on which the young men sleep. The building is of bamboo, usually raised 8 to 10 feet above ground, with rows of pigsties ranged under the rows of rooms. They reckon themselves by families, not by cities or villages, nor yet by tribes.[3]

The Aka people of the northern frontier of Assam, numbering about one thousand in all, live in two separate villages. One of these consists of ten clans or households, the other of three. Each clan occupies a house by itself. Some number only thirty souls, others sixty to one hundred, and according to the number of inmates is the size of each house. Internal feuds are numerous, and clan is pitted against clan.

In building his house, the clan-chief must first ascertain whether it is a lucky spot. The house itself is generally very substantially constructed. It is built on piles from 5 to 7 feet above the ground, boarded and comfortably walled in with carefully planed planks. The roof is thatched with a kind of broad leaf, and mats are firmly fastened all over it. A long row of separate compartments runs the whole length of the building.[4]

[1] Hunter's *Statistical Account of Assam*, i, 324-325.
[2] *Journ. Asiatic Society Bengal*, xiv, 264.
[3] *Ibid.*, xxxvii, 126; Dallon's *Ethnology of India*, 94.
[4] *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, xxxvii, 195-198.

On the hills the Eriligaru have small villages containing seven or eight huts, with some pens for goats; the whole built round a square, in which they burn a fire all night to keep away the tigers. The huts are very small, but tolerably neat, and constructed with bamboos well-woven like basket work, and plastered on the inside with clay. They have abundance of poultry, a few goats, and in some villages a few cows, which are only used for giving milk.

They cultivate the ground near their villages after the Gotusadu fashion, changing the fields every year.

Their property, real and personal, is divided amongst all the sons, with the exception of the dwelling-house, which, with the responsibility of the charge of the females and minors, goes to the eldest son in addition to his share.[1]

The Korumbas live on the slopes in villages called *Mottas*, four or five houses generally forming a village. They are so dispersed over the slopes and bases of the hills that the inhabitants of one locality know nothing of those at a distance, and can therefore scarcely be said to have any tribal existence. The walls are made of wattle and mud, and the better sort have the fronts whitewashed and covered with rude drawings of animals and men in charcoal and red-earth. They store their grain in large oval baskets.

They clear a patch round about the village, and sow the ground with Rāgi. They dig up roots for food, and collect jungle produce, honey, resin, gallnuts, etc. Among the ruder portions of the tribe, sometimes patches of land at a distance from their abodes are cultivated, and then the family remove thither during harvest time, inviting their friends to join, and reaping only as much as is requisite for their immediate wants. Sometimes the community unites and live on the produce of a single family, moving in succession from one patch to another; and when the whole of the cultivated plots are exhausted, they fall back on the produce of the fruit trees in the neighbourhood; or the community scatters, each family taking a different direction towards the jungle in search of honey, edible roots, and fruits.[2]

A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate the kinship group of the Todas. Each *mund* usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and

[1] Buchanan's *Journey*, i, 460; Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris*, 68.

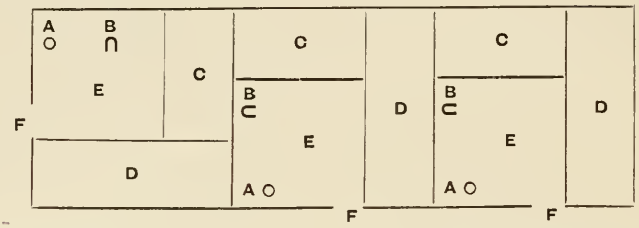
[2] Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris*, 50; evidence of totemism is found amongst one of the tribes of the Kurumbas, *ibid.*, 51; Shortt's *Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherries*, 49; Hearknes, *Neilgherry Hills*, 93, relates much the same kind of custom in connection with the neighbouring tribes of the Irulas or Eriligarus.

the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped construction; usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth as to be easily moved too and fro. The houses are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan and covered with thatch. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the peat-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The inside of the hut is from 8 to 15 feet square. On one side is a raised platform or pile formed of clay about 2 feet high, and covered with sambre or buffalo skins; it is used as a sleeping-place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation on which the cooking utensils are placed. Faggots of firewood are heaped up here and there; also the rice pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use. Each hut is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and including a space or yard measuring 13 × 10 feet.[1] Each *mund* is situated in its own lands, and is the abode of one family.[2] The cattle which grazed on the land of the *mund* are the property, in varying proportions, of the male members of the family; but the milk of the entire herd is lodged in the dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption, the unconsumed balance being divided as personal and saleable property amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd. The grain food which is collected from the Badagas, a neighbouring tribe, in the form of a tax, is divided amongst the family.[3] The *mund* has its duplicate, sometimes its triplicate, to which the entire family migrate at certain seasons of the year, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and for the sake of escaping the inclemency of the weather-exposed situations.[4]

The father's property is equally divided amongst all the sons,

[1] Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris*, p. 8.
[2] *Ibid.*; Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, 206.
[3] Marshall, 206.
[4] *Ibid.*, 59.

but the house goes to the youngest son, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.[1]



A. The pestle and mortar.
B. The fireplace.
C. The store place.
D. Raised bed of clay for the elders.
E. Vacant space on the floor, where the family eat and the juniors sleep.
F. The door.

On the Burgoor Hills (Coimbatore District) the villages contain a number of huts which form three or four distinct groups. Each family community live together, and enclose all their arable land, with their serf and village servants, who live with them. The group of huts forming their dwellings are situated on one part of the estate, whilst the estate itself is fenced and walled for security by bamboo stakes driven into the ground at distances of 4 to 6 feet apart, and between these bamboo lathes are packed by intertwining, so that they form a solid and compact wall about 4 to 6 feet in height without an interstice of any size. A second enclosure is placed immediately beyond their huts to hold cattle, cows, buffaloes, and calves, each of which are separately shut in.

The huts are built of wattle and daub, composed of bamboo plaiting coated over with clay and cow-dung mixed with red earth. A loft inside is set apart for a store-room, and the rest of the building is divided into one or more rooms or partitions, the first having an earthen fireplace, and not far from it the hole in the soil for pounding rice. The roof is covered with grass thatch, a rather wide pent, the ridge of which is from 15 to 20 feet in height, while the floor itself is raised from 2 to 3 feet above the rest of the soil.

Each family or cultivator has a quasi-serf or two, who are called *Soligaru*, a rude tribe who come from the Ghauts between Mysore and Coimbatore, and who live within the enclosures, and have their huts next to their masters' dwellings. They have of late years got up a community of village servants and citizens from the plains, who all work for their dues and are paid in kind.[3]

[1] Breeks, 9. [2] Marshall, 63.
[3] Shortt, *Hill Ranges of Southern India*, ii, 103, 109.

The lower Pulnis contains about 6,000 inhabitants, distributed in thirteen principal villages and sixty-seven hamlets. The villages are walled in as on the high range. Each family possesses a house in the village, but for the greater part of the year the different members of it live on their farmsteads, where the cattle are usually penned throughout the year. These farmsteads are near the cultivation, sometimes four or five miles from the village ; a congregation of these houses constitutes a "putty" or "hamlet".[1]

The Khotas of the Nīlagiris hills have seven villages. They form large communities, each village containing from thirty to sixty or more huts of tolerable size, built of mud walls and covered with the usual thatch grass ; but the arrangement of the dwellings is far from being neat or prepossessing. The floors are well raised from 2 to 3 feet above the soil, with eaves or a short verandah in front and a pial or seat on either side of the door under the eaves. The size of the doors giving entrance to their huts measures 46 × 26 inches.[2] Each village has one or two houses set apart for women for purification purposes, and at least two temples.[3]

They live principally by handicraft, working in gold and silver, carpentry, blacksmiths, etc. They hold and cultivate the lands around their villages.

Their property is divided equally among the sons, except the house, which, together with charge of his mother, goes to the youngest son.[4]

The mountain plateau and slopes of the Shervaroy Hills are scattered over with villages, occupied by a tribe called "Vellalers" or "Malayalies". They are numerous, and are generally built in sheltered valleys, and surrounded with rich crops of the various grains they cultivate. They resemble clusters of enlarged beehives more than anything else. About fifteen to twenty huts are in a village, and on an average contain about fifty persons. The houses are circular, and the flooring is raised upon wooden piles about 2 feet from the ground. The walls are of split trellised bamboo with an outer coating of mud. The roof is conical, and thatched with a long, coarse grass peculiar to the hills. The eaves of each hut extend 2 or 2½ feet from the inner wall, which is enclosed by a similar walling, and the space between partitioned into two or three compartments for the use of their calves, poultry, etc.

[1] Shortt, *Hill Ranges of S. India*, v, 76.
[2] *Ibid.*, i, 55.
[3] Breeks, *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris*, 41, 43.
[4] *Ibid.*, 42.

Most of the villages have "sawney houses" under groves of trees near the villages. They are built of flat stones on end for the sides and back, and another on the top. They generally stand 2½ feet from the ground, and five or six of them are generally found together and arranged in a semicircle. Some of these contain stones with rudely carved images thereon, to which the villagers bring and leave their votive offerings of flowers, oil, grain, etc.

They cultivate only the richest level land and the hill slopes (with the dry grains). The mode of culture is termed Ponacaud cultivation, equivalent to the Coomri of the plains, for which the jungle is felled and fired, and subsequently the soil turned up rudely with a hand-hoe, and the seed sown broadcast; on the succeeding year the land is abandoned for a fresh spot.

The Malayalies possess herds of buffaloes and black cattle. Sometimes they go out elk-hunting. Each naad (village) has its own elk forest, and of the animals killed, every man in the village is entitled to a share, whether present or not at the time of the excursion, and the individual who killed the animal gets a double portion.

They do not like to see a tiger or any other animal struck with the foot when killed. They immediately show their abhorrence to such sacrilege, as they term it. They never name a tiger when hunting for it, but will call it a dog, and immediately one is killed, they rush forward and cut off its whiskers, to prevent an enemy getting possession of them and using them as a charm.[1]

A Rodiya village usually contains from ten to fifteen hovels. Attached to them are small plots of ground, planted with betel, vines and plantain trees. They also rear pigs and poultry, and some of them keep cattle.[2]

The wild Veddahs of Ceylon are distributed in small septs or families, occupying generally caves in the rocks, though some have little bark huts. The huts contain but one family each, and when they live in caves each dwelling-place is carefully screened off. They cultivate small patches of *chena*, but their principal source of livelihood is the produce of the chase, and honey; and they move about from forest to forest in search of bees and game. Both Nilgala and Binterne Veddahs regard, for each tribe, particular tracts of forest as their own, and are careful not to trespass over each other's ground. It is curious that while in the Batticalva district Veddahs are said to eat rats, those of the Badulla district—

[1] Shortt, *Hill Ranges of Southern India*, ii, 8, 10, 44, 46.
[2] *Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1855, pp. 172, 175.

certainly of Nilgala—reject them. They eat the flesh of elk, deer, monkeys, pigs, iguano, etc., but not that of oxen, elephants, bears, leopards, and jackals: and all birds except the wild or domestic fowl.[1]

The villages of the Andaman Islanders are very thinly scattered, and consist of about twenty huts or less, arranged in a circular form on the bare ground, with only the vegetation cleared away. The huts consist of four posts, the two front ones higher than the two hinder ones, which are close to the ground. They are open at the sides, and merely covered with a roof of bamboo or a few palm-leaves bound tightly together. In most villages there is one hut built of larger dimensions, and with more care than the rest, with a composite roof like that of a cottage. The posterior posts are 1 or 2 feet only in height, the anterior 6 or 8 feet.

They live chiefly on fruit, mangroves, and shell-fish.

The men choose promiscuously for one or more years after puberty, then each takes or has assigned to him a female who becomes exclusively his mate and servant, and the reason assigned for this monogamy is, that she may be restricted, while he may continue to select from the unmarried females as before.[2]

The houses of Car Nicobar (one of the Nicobar Islands) are in the form of a cone or bee-hive. They are generally in groups of from ten to twelve in number, thus forming a succession of small villages (if they may be called so), and each has its head man, who seems to be invested with a certain amount of governing power.[3]

The houses of the Admiralty Island natives are built in villages, some of which are fortified with a palisade. They are on the ground, and always close to the shore. They are of elongated bee-hive shape, occupying an oval area of ground. On Wild Island they are built of a continuous wall and thatch of grass and cocoa-nut leaves, or similar material. They thus look somewhat like long haycocks. In Dentrecasteaux Island many of the houses have their walls built up neatly of wood cut into billets and piled as fire-wood is in Europe. The roofs are similar to those in Wild Island. They are supported on two stout posts rising from the foci of the oval floor of each house, and by a regular framework of rafters, etc. Shorter posts placed along the wall at intervals support the roofs

[1] *Journ. Ethnological Soc.*, ii, 281-282, 288, 292.
[2] *Ibid.*, New Ser., ii, 42, 46, 48.
[3] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, iii, 3.

at their periphery and the walls. Very often the ground is excavated to a depth of a foot or so beneath the house, so that the wall is partly of earth, and one has to step down to get into the house. The dwelling-houses are mostly about twenty to twenty-five feet long, ten to fifteen feet high, and about ten feet in breadth. They have a low opening at one or both ends. To the main supporting posts of the roof are secured a series of wide horizontal shelves placed one above another, and on these food implements are kept. In some of the houses are also bed-places, consisting of rough boards fastened against the side-posts of the walls on one side, and supported by short special posts on the other. The temples are houses exactly like the dwelling-places, but larger, about twenty feet long, fifteen broad, and twenty in height. The women have houses to themselves, but whether they are only for unmarried women or not is uncertain. The unmarried men have special houses. Polygamy is practised.

Cultivation of a few esculent plants takes place in small enclosures adjoining the houses, but to a very small extent, and there are no large clearings of any kind which leave their mark on the general features of vegetation of the islands. As animal food they have abundance of fish, pigs, and the cuscus; they also catch and kill birds for eating.

The tool most in use by the natives is a small adze, consisting of a natural crook of wood with a Terebra maculata shell bound on to it, the shell being ground down until only one-half of it remains. Axes are made of hard volcanic rock, with ground surfaces and triangular in form. They are jammed in a slot cut in a club-like billet of hard wood near its end. The heads of the obsidian-headed spears serve as knives. Pieces of pearl oyster-shell, usually semicircular in shape, ground down to a thin edge on the rounded border, are used as knives; and knives are also made of the spine of a sting ray. Large ground pearl oyster-shells are used to dig with.[1]

The Eskimo during the summer lead a wandering life, and during winter they retire to certain stations, which have been occupied through several generations. It is these fixed habitations which must be examined for our present purpose. They are of two sorts, one to be found in Alaska, the other in Greenland. The Alaska winter-hut forms an oblong square. The size varies according to the number of families who agree to inhabit it together. The largest huts are about sixty feet long by fourteen to

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vi, 402-407.

sixteen feet in breadth. The walls are six to eight feet high, constructed of stone, and the crevices between them filled up with turf. The floor is usually paved with flags. The roof is flat, and constructed of drift timber stretching across from one wall to the other. Upon this smaller timber or laths are piled crosswise, and on the top of these rafters are thrown sweet broom and juniper twigs, then turf, and a thick layer of earth. In the centre of the longest wall, towards the sunny side, is the passage or entrance, also covered; this is from twenty to thirty feet long, sometimes a little curved, about two-and-a-half to three feet broad, and so low that one must rather crawl than walk to get in. In most cases, indeed, it is necessary to crawl on hands and knees. The interior of the hut is loftier, but still not more than five or six feet high from floor to ceiling. With regard to the interior arrangements, it is only along the walls that the inmates of the house can sit or lie. Benches are placed there for that purpose, and the room is occasionally partitioned off along the inside of the wall by means of hides into separate cells, like the stalls of a stable. Each family occupies one stall, but the unmarried women have one to themselves.[1] In the Greenland house the resting-places, or family benches, are all arranged on one side, for which reason the houses have a more or less elongated form, the length corresponding to the number of inhabitants. They are built of stones and sod or turf.[2] The house-passage has generally everywhere a small side-room for a cooking-place. The provisions are sometimes kept in rooms connected with the house or house-passage; in other places in separate store-houses, or in caves or holes of the rocks covered with stones.[3]

In Alaska there are also larger public dwellings for meetings, especially on solemn occasions.[4]

Dr. Rink observes that "though the dwelling-houses are nearly always built for more than one family, the number of these is seldom found to exceed three or four. In South Greenland, however, houses have been met with more than 60 feet in length, and containing stalls for ten families. At Point Darrow, Simpson found nearly fifty houses with two karrigi (public dwellings) for 309 inhabitants."[5] Elsewhere he adds more important information. A

[1] Nillson, *Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia*, 131; cf. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo;* and the same author's *The Eskimo Tribes*, 10.

[2] Rink, *The Eskimo Tribes*, 10; *Danish Greenland*, 178.

[3] Rink, *Tales and Traditions of Eskimo*, 8. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.;* cf. *Journ. Ethnological Soc.*, i, 277.

body of relatives generally will consist of people occupying the same wintering-place. The rights and obligations connected with the kinship are contained in rules concerning marriage, mutual assistance, including the blood-vengeance, and the duty of every man to learn and carry on his seal-hunting to the best of his ability. The inhabitants of a wintering-place have the exclusive right of permitting others to settle there. In one instance, in the extreme eastern district, a tribe numbered 413 souls, divided into eleven smaller communities inhabiting so many wintering-stations; the widest distance between them being eighty miles. Each of these smaller communities occupied one house, in one instance the number of inhabitants being fifty-eight.[1]

As the means of subsistence is obtained by seal-hunting, there is no question to consider in connection with the common property of the group in the food-grounds. The matter is definitely set at rest by the fact that absolute communism in living is the rule, the only personal property being the necessary tools and equipment for hunting.[2]

The Yacoutes of Siberia live dispersed in small groups of two or three *Yourtes;* a certain number of these little villages form a *notchlegh*, the inhabitants of which call themselves *tjonobout*, or of the same kin, and which is governed by a knïazetz or small prince. Their wealth consists of flocks and herds of cattle, and the pasturage surrounds the *Yourtes.*

The *Yourtes* have the form of a truncated pyramid, and are square. They are constructed by fixing poles in the ground in an inclined position, and spreading on them a mixture of dung and soil. The roof is flat, and made with planks of birch-tree bark. Seldom any floor is to be found. The hearth or *tchouval* occupies the centre, above is a chimney, made with planking laid on with clay. During the summer months the Yacoutes construct temporary *yourtes* without hearths in the localities to which they remove in the hay harvest season.

Perhaps these examples are sufficient to show the interest of primitive residences, and the need there is for systematic study of the subject. I have sought to show (1) the structure of the individual house;

[1] Rink, *The Eskimo Tribes*, 23-25.

[2] *Ibid.*, 23; and cf. *Danish Greenland*, 195: "Any native who may try to secure the prosperity of his family by saving and accumulating property, will, sooner or later, be obliged to keep his more careless kindred or neighbours. The limits of what he is considered entitled to keep for his private use are evidently even narrower now than in former times." This is speaking of the tribes in contact with, and under the protection of, a civilised government.

(2) its connection with other houses; (3) its connection with the food-grounds; and (4) I have given such other fragments of evidence on marriage succession to property and chiefship as seem to some extent to bear upon the question of residence. My material is not presented in the shape in which it will appear when all the conclusions it can furnish are drawn together and set down in their proper sequence. But the subject has been so little touched upon, it is so widely scattered in anthropological works, that it seemed worth while putting these rough notes together before taking any fresh steps.

G. L. GOMME.

EARLY BOROUGHS IN HAMPSHIRE.

THE origin of boroughs in Hampshire, as elsewhere, is lost in the mists of antiquity. The inhabitants of any ancient town, whether known as a borough or, like Winchester, known as a city, appear to have been described in ancient times as burgesses, which circumstance points to such a city as Winchester having arisen from a borough more ancient than the city. Winchester is not included in the Domesday account of Hampshire, but its inhabitants, who are described as burgesses, are mentioned incidentally in that early record in connection with other places in the county. Some years ago, this city commemorated the seven-hundredth anniversary of the appointment or election of its first mayor; but its existence as an early borough must have been at least three times as long. Its great earthwork on St. Catherine's Hill, which was its primitive bury, is among the best known of the British earthworks in the kingdom. Its south-eastern suburb, which leads up to its old hill fortress, is still known as Bar End; and relics of the Bronze period have many times been found some twelve or more feet beneath the present level of its streets, and just above the compressed layer of peat on which much of the lower part of the city is built. The borough of Southampton can also trace its municipal existence back seven hundred years, and there are other old towns in this county whose antiquity as mediæval boroughs must be as great, although their records may not extend quite so far. Such records relate, however, to the existence of these boroughs in mediæval time, as borough towns were then understood to be constituted, and not to that earlier period when the origin of such places was part of the origin of communal life in Britain.

To ascertain which were the early boroughs in Hampshire, it will be necessary to keep in mind what was the earliest meaning attached to the word. In the most ancient period of our history a borough was not necessarily a town more or less incorporated, but a town with some fortification or defensive works, as a town in the early Saxon period was understood to be constituted. Each borough had its burh or earthwork of some sort for defence, and the burh of Southampton, on which the keep of its castle was subsequently built, is mentioned as far back as the time of Athelstan,

and in all probability existed at a much earlier period, seeing that coins of Offa were found near its surface when the mound was levelled about 1816. There is reason, also, to think that this burh, which was probably of Saxon origin, was raised within the more ancient lines of a British peninsular earthwork.

The student of pre-historic archæology who pursues his researches in such a county as Hampshire cannot fail ultimately to have brought before him the existence of boroughs of a still earlier date than those of the later Saxon period; for he will come across many country places, remote from towns, still possessing an earthwork known as a bury, or still retaining such place-names as Borough Hill, the Bury, Borough, or Bury Farm, which point to the former existence of some kind of early defences; and it will be difficult to avoid the conclusion that Anglo-Saxon communal borough-life was in many instances developed around old British defences, from the remains of the Celtic communities which survived the Saxon conquest.

One of the best and earliest examples of an early borough which Hampshire affords is that of Burghclere, formerly also known as Boroughclere, in the northern part of the county. The parish of this name is extensive; and not far from its southern limit, on a bold hill known as Beacon Hill, is one of the best preserved of the British earthworks of Hampshire. That this earthwork gave the name to the place there can, I think, be no doubt; nor can there be much doubt that Burghclere is that Clere which is mentioned in Domesday Book as having among its population twenty-four coliberti, in addition to villeins, borderers, and slaves. That these coliberti, who were more or less freemen at the time of the Survey, possessed certain privileges which their borough gave them, whatever they were, is, I think, certain. It is also certain that all the other manors in Hampshire which are mentioned in Domesday Book as having coliberti inhabitants are also places which, even at the present time, contain within their limits ancient earthworks, in most instances still known as buries. The name of one of them, Broughton, is a contraction for Boroughton, or Boroughtown. If there was no connection between the British borough earthworks and the existence of coliberti in Hampshire at the time of the Domesday Survey only at those places at which such earthworks existed, and still exist, then this circumstance is a very singular one indeed; but the name coliberti implies, I think, some connection with an early borough. The number of these coliberti recorded as living on these manors at the time of the survey appa-

rently bore no general relation to their population. At Andover there were three, at Basingstoke twelve, at Bramley three, at Barton Stacey six, at Broughton four, at Wallop a number not specified, at Clere twenty-four, at Burgate eight, at Meonstoke four, at Somborne seven, at Wherwell twenty-five ; while four burgesses are mentioned at Houghton, and freemen are also mentioned at Romsey. Close to Andover is the British earthwork on Bury Hill ; the earthwork of Winklebury is within the limits of the parish of Basingstoke ; Bramley has a large earthwork towards its eastern boundary and within its present limits ; Barton Stacey includes the great peninsular earthwork of Bransbury ; Broughton has remains of earthworks on Broughton Hill ; Wallop includes the remarkable fortification known as Danebury ; Burghclere has the great earthwork on Beacon Hill ; Burgate, now part of Fordingbridge, has remains of earthworks close to it ; Meonstoke includes the notable fortification known as Old Winchester ; Somborne has the great earthwork known as Woolbury ; and Wherwell has an early defence known as the Mount. It appears to me, in view of these facts, to be very difficult to avoid the conclusion that the coliberti who lived at these places must, in some way or other, have derived their privileges from having been connected with these ancient borough-defences. The fortifications at Bury Hill, Winklebury, Bramley, Danebury, Burghclere, Old Winchester, and Woolbury, are all well preserved, as if they were kept in repair up to a comparatively late date, and they are all of the typical British character, while those at Wherwell and Broughton appear to be more of the nature of Saxon burhs.

The primitive idea of a borough appears, from the examples in Hampshire, to have been a place where the inhabitants possessed a bury, or castle of refuge, and formed a community for its defence. Many of these places never grew into the position of towns, as towns were understood in the middle ages, but remained stationary, or gradually dwindled in population, so that at the present time it is difficult to recognise such places as Bramley, Somborne, Wherwell, Barton Stacey, Meonstoke, Wallop, Broughton, and Burghclere, as in any way different from ordinary villages ; yet these places were, I think, some of the earliest boroughs of Hampshire. It is not surprising that the southern Celts should have had local defences somewhat similar to those constructed by the Celts in the north. The early boroughs appear to have been fortified places which were available as refuges in southern England, as well as in the northern part of the island. In the time of the Romans the

inhabitants of Caithness lived in circular stone burghs.[1] Burhs were ordered to be repaired by the laws of Athelstan, and perhaps such a law for repairs helps to explain why the early borough earthworks I have mentioned are in a better state of preservation than some other British fortifications in the county, which do not appear to have been used by the Saxons.

Some places which never appear to have been boroughs, according to the later acceptation of the term, were still described as manors and boroughs, from long-established usage, after the old meaning of the term had, perhaps, passed out of memory. Thus, Westover, a manor near Christchurch, is described as the "manor and borough" of Westover in 1415[2]; and as late as 1806, the words "manor and borough" of Gosport occur in an Act of Parliament relating to that place. The borough of Gosport appears to have been the same as the early borough of Alverstoke. The "men of Alverstoke" formed a community under the Bishop of Winchester, who was lord of the manor at the time of the Domesday Survey. In the fourteenth century they had a common seal, and were reported as being all engaged in agriculture. They had their borough at the place still known as Bury, or Bury Cross. Another early borough appears to have been Hambledon, where the name, at least, of its old bury is still preserved. Similarly, others can be traced by the survival of the name of their borough or bury, and in some instances, also, by the survival of their burghmote, or Court Leet. The head of the Court Leet or View of Frankpledge in early boroughs appears to have been known as the Headborough, or Boroughhead, or Bursholder. Such an office as that of Headborough must have been held by one William Dobbs of Odiham, in the fourteenth century. William Dobbs and other "men of Odiham" are mentioned in the record of an Inquisition[3] held in 1378, concerning twelve acres of land and a messuage known as Dunton in Odiham. The town of Odiham offords a good example of an early borough which never became incorporated. The name of its bury is still preserved and known as the Bury, where the stocks yet remain; and the example of this town is given by Maddox, in his *Firma Burgi*,[4] as a peculiar one, for the "men of Odiham" held their town at fee ferme, without being incorporated, and there can be no doubt that these privileges were very ancient.

[1] Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, p. 484.
[2] *Inquisitiones post mortem*, 2 Hen. V.
[3] *Ibid.*, 2 Rich. II.
[4] Maddox, *Firma Burgi*, p. 54.

One of the best preserved of the British earthworks of Hampshire, which has quite lost its original name, is that now known as Buckland Rings, near Lymington. This town does not appear to be older than mediæval times, and is situated about a mile nearer the mouth of the river than the British fortress; but I think the population of the neighbourhood, including Old Lymington, which comprised the hamlet of Bokland[1] in the fourteenth century, must have looked on this earthwork as their borough defence in the earlier centuries, before New Lymington arose, for in the perambulation of the New Forest in the time of Edward I, the name Jernesburgh occurs in this part of the boundary. Buckland Rings, like most of the earthworks of the county, has nothing about it which resembles the burhs thrown up as defences in Saxon times, but is a characteristic British work, evidently improved by the Romans; and if identical with Jernesburgh, it bore a characteristic Celtic name as late as the time of Edward I.

The question of what relation, if any, some of the old British borough defences of Hampshire bore to the hundreds of the county, in Saxon time, is one of much interest. That they had some such relation is, I think, certain, from some of the hundreds bearing borough names. Thus we have among the oldest hundreds those bearing the names of Boseberg, Bermesplet, Maneberg, and Mantesberg at the time of the Domesday Survey. I have elsewhere[2] shown that there is much reason for thinking that the British population of Hampshire must have been distributed around the old earthworks of the county, and that the sizes of these fortresses must have had a relationship to the number of people required for their defence, or which they were required to shelter. From the circumstance of these hundreds taking their names from old British burghs, it would appear as if these particular hundreds, as county divisions, had their origin in British time, and were inhabited by communities like the Welsh cantreds.

At the time of the Domesday Survey there were many manors in Hampshire which were recorded as being held alodially, and it was one of the obligations of an alodial tenure, which was the most ancient tenure of land, to repair local defences. The hedges or enclosures with which some early Saxon towns were fenced, could scarcely be defences within this meaning of the term; for example, the hedge or enclosure of the town of Southampton is mentioned

[1] *Inquisitiones post mortem*, 1 Rich. II.

[2] Paper on "The Distribution and Density of the British Population of Hampshire". *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xviii, No. 4.

in a charter as early as 1045, but this hedge, the line of which we can trace at the present day, marked the boundary of the township, and not of its fortified burh. The local defences, which the alodial tax or burhbote was levied to repair, must have been of a more permanent nature, probably earthworks; and as many manors in remote parts of Hampshire were held alodially, and presumably paid burhbote, it follows they must have had burhs of some sort, or been within reach of them. A good example of this kind is that of Thruxton, which was held alodially at the time of the Survey or that of Edward the Confessor. Close to this village is a hill known as London Hill, which still bears traces of fortified lines; and close to the hill, or dun, is a stream which, by the aid of a dam, could easily have been made into a lyn, to assist in the defence, so that the place bears out its ancient name. Here I may remark that we have about twelve Londons in Hampshire. As this name is of Celtic origin, I can scarcely think that the liability for burhbote at Thruxton in Saxon time, with the existence of a British fortification, could be accidental. If not, such an instance points to a survival of a British custom to the time of the Norman conquest. The obligation for local defences in British or early Saxon time was no doubt an obligation on the community, when the land was held in common, but it is not difficult to imagine that when the land ceased to be held in community, and began to be held in severalty by lords of manors, the ancient obligation of local defences would in some cases remain. If this British custom survived until the time of the Norman conquest, in localities in which land was held by alodial tenures, it would not be more surprising than that the old British custom of Borough English should have survived on some manors unto the present day, such as on that of Merdon in Hampshire, where a notable British borough earthwork still exists, and gave its name to the manor, and to the borough custom among its copyholders of inheritance by the youngest son.

These considerations appear to me to point to a continuity of communal life around these early boroughs of Hampshire, from the British into the Saxon period.

T. W. Shore.

WALBROOK.

OWING to the constant improvements which are being made from time to time in the streets of the City, either by widening or rebuilding, opportunities often occur for the investigation of matters of antiquarian interest.

Such an opportunity is now presented of examining the line taken by one of the old watercourses which in old days flowed through the midst of the city, dividing it "as from east to west". Reference is here made to the old stream of Walbrook.

Many interesting facts regarding this stream have been collected from time to time, but of necessity much of the matter respecting the course must have been written theoretically, although based on these facts, seeing that in Stowe's time the Walbrook "by common consent was arched over with brick, and paved with stone equal with the ground where through it passed, and is now in most places built upon, that no man may by the eye discern it, and therefore the trace thereof is hardly known to the common people."

During some important excavations now being carried on in connection with the construction of a new road, under the auspices of the Leathersellers' Company, from Little Bell Alley through to St. Margaret's Church, Lothbury, the bed of the river has evidently been struck.

The Walbrook is known to have risen somewhere just to the north of the London Wall, in the ground then known as Finsbury Fields, beyond the present site of Moorfields and Finsbury Square. Fitzstephen, who wrote in the reign of Henry II, says of this district: "When that great marsh which washes the walls of the city on the north side is frozen over, the young men go out in crowds to divert themselves upon the ice. Some, having increased their velocity by a run, placing their feet apart and turning their bodies sideways, slide a great way; others make a seat of large pieces of ice like millstones, and a great number of them running before, and holding each other by the hand, draw one of their companions who is seated on the ice. . . . Others are more expert in their sports upon the ice; for fitting to, and binding under, their feet the shinbones of some animal, and taking in their hands poles

shod with iron which at times they strike against the ice, they are carried along with as great rapidity as a bird flying, or a bolt discharged from a cross-bow." Many of these bones have from time to time been found when excavating in this district, and a good collection of them is to be seen in the Guildhall Museum, amongst which are several with a fine polish, and having numerous indications of wear.[1]

After passing through London Wall, the stream took a somewhat variable and winding course until it reached a "great house built of stone and timber", where it evidently widened into a navigable river, as "barges out of the river of Thames were rowed up so far into this brook", from which cause this house was known as the Old Barge, its name being still preserved in Barge Yard.

It was close to this spot that a magnificent Roman mosaic pavement, measuring about twenty feet in length by thirteen in width, was discovered in 1869, lying entire, about nineteen feet below the present level of the street, evidently a portion of some important residence that stood on the very edge of the river-bank.[2] Proceeding by Cloak Lane, the Walbrook eventually found its way into the Thames by the Steel Yard at Dowgate.

A plan of the river's course was compiled some years ago by Mr. John E. Price, F.S.A., from a study of the ward and parochial boundaries, together with the lines dividing the freehold estates of some of the important Livery Companies, and was published by him in 1869, in his interesting *Description of the Roman Pavement Found in Bucklersbury.* This, and another map by Mr. Newton, published in 1855, being generally referred to as the most authentic, it will be interesting to note, as the excavations proceed, how far they can be relied upon for future reference, and how far the opportunities now provided will enable additions and corrections to be made to what has already been recorded in the various antiquarian publications. Every facility is given for investigation on the part of the Company, and a careful record from day to day will be noted until the excavations have been completed.

At the present time a depth of about twenty feet has been reached in the excavation, this level being necessary before ground suitable for receiving the foundations of a building could be obtained. At a short distance (some five or six feet down) from

[1] These bone skates were not entirely superseded by steel ones even at the end of last century. (*Coll. Antiqua*, vol. ii.)

[2] This pavement is now preserved in the Museum of the Corporation of London, at Guildhall.

the present level, a black, sloppy kind of mud was found, which seems to be such as would have been used for filling up; after digging through about four feet of this substance a very hard, gravelly soil was obtained, such as would be likely to form the bed of a watercourse river. A row of stakes was discovered standing here in such a position as to suggest that they had been placed there for the support of the river-banks, which were apt to be damaged by the sudden rushes of water when the Walbrook was flushed from the City ditch to clear it of the filth and rubbish with which it constantly got stopped up. This stopping-up of the Walbrook seems to have been a constant cause of annoyance to the authorities, as may be seen from the following extract from the Corporation Records:

"Ordinances as to the Repair of Creplegate; the City Barge; and the Watercourse of Walbrook. 6 Rich. II, A.D. 1383.
[Letter-book H, fol. 164 (Norman-French).]

"Also,—Whereas the Watercourse of Walbrook is stopped up by divers filth and dung thrown therein by persons who have houses along the said course, to the great nuisance and damage of all the City; it is assented to, that the Aldermen of the Wards of Colemanstret, Brad Chepe, Walbrok, Vintry, and Douegate, through whose Wards the said Watercourse runs, shall diligently enquire if any person dwelling along the said course has a stable, or other house, whereby dung and other filth may fall into the same, or otherwise throws therein or causes to be thrown therein, such manner of filth and rubbish by which the said watercourse is stopped up; and let the Mayor and Chamberlain know the names of such persons, and the number and extent of such offences, the most truthfully that they may: that so by the advice of the Mayor, and Aldermen, and Commonalty, punishment may be inflicted on the offenders who act against this ordinance, and this nuisance be abated thereby.

"But it shall be fully lawful for those persons who have houses on the said watercourse to have latrines over the course, provided that they do not throw rubbish or other refuse through the same whereby the passage of the said water may be stopped. And every one who has such latrine or latrines over the same shall pay yearly to the Chamberlain for the easement thereof, and towards cleansing the said course, two shillings for each of the same."

When the brook was flushed by a sudden rush of water from the City ditch, the banks were constantly damaged, to prevent which, an order was issued in the year 1415 that "all inhabitants upon the margin of the fosse of Walbrooke should pile the banks of the same, and cause it to be piled or else walled with 'walls'".

In 1374 "a lease of the Moor, together with charge of the watercourse of Wallebrok, was made unto Thomas atte Ram" for seven years without paying any rent for it. The said Thomas had to keep the Moor for the whole term well and properly", and also to keep the watercourse of Walbrook clear from any filth or rubbish. For his trouble he was allowed to take twelve pence yearly for each latrine on the course ; and he was allowed to have for his own anything he might find in the dung and filth he cleared out of the brook.

Besides the row of stakes mentioned above, a few coins of the early Empire have been unearthed, together with several pieces of the red Samian ware, bearing potters' marks and names. A few specimens of Upchurch ware have also been found, among which is a very perfect specimen, bearing a beautiful glaze. As the excavations proceed it is extremely likely that a large number of antiquities will be brought to light, especially as this locality has in former times furnished so much food for antiquarian research.

CORRIE LEONARD THOMPSON.

ROMAN REMAINS.

No. 7.—DORSETSHIRE.

ABBREVIATIONS.

D. M. - - -	Dorset County Museum.
C. C. - - -	Cunnington Collection. (D. M.)
H. C. - - -	Hogg Collection. (D. M.)
Arch. J. - -	Journal of the Archæological Institute.
J. B. A. A. - -	Journal of the British Archæological Association.
Gent.'s Mag. -	*Gentleman's Magazine.*
Hutchins - -	Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, 3rd edition.
Lysons - -	Lysons' *Reliquiæ Brit. Romanæ.*
Proc. D. N. Hist., etc.	Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Field Club
Warne's Vestiges -	Warne's *Vestiges of Ancient Dorset.*

ABBOTSBURY. Tesselated pavement, found in the church. Roman road passing. Hutchins, ii, 721 ; *J. B. A. A.*, i, 325 ; *Arch Journ.*, xxii, 345.

ALTON PANCRAS. Upchurch food jar with handle. (D. M.)

BAD BYRI (Bradbury), near to. Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 17.

BAGBER, in Milton Abbas. Site of a potter's kiln ; portion of a disc of Kimmeridge coal. Qy. a potter's throwing-wheel. (fd. in 1841. D. M.)

BAN-BURY. CASTRUM. Now nearly obliterated. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 2.

BARTON'S TOWN. *See* Tarrant Hinton.

BERE. The station called Ibernium. Stukeley's *Itinerary*, 1776, 189 ; *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345.

BLANDFORD FORUM, near. Urn, large spear, brass helmet, etc. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1758, 600.

——— ST. MARY. Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 14.

BOVERIDGE. Roman remains, with *débris* on the site of the British village. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 5.

BRIDPORT, Roman road passing. *J. B. A. A.*, i, 325 ; *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345.

——– Station, Canca Arixa (or perhaps Charmouth). Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 7.

BROADWAY. Remains, large vase. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 22. (fd. in railway cutting. D. M.)

BUCHESTER, near Fontmell and Shaston. Roman town. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 356.

BUCKLAND RIPERS, farm at. Interments. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1845, pt. 1, 79. (found 1845.)

——— Tatton Farm. Interments, stone coffins. *Ibid.*

BUCKLAND NEWTON. DUNGEON CAMP. Quern. (fd. in 1881.)

——— Under the vallum. (C. C. D. M.)

——— Roof tiles, pottery. (C. C. D. M.)

BULBARROW. Coins.

CATTISTOCK. CASTRUM, area about four acres. Murray's *Guide to Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset*, xxxix; Warne's *Dorsetshire*, p. 10.

——— Remains. *Ibid.*

CHARMINSTER. Bronze fibula, parcel gilt and enamelled. (D. M.)

CHARMOUTH. Station, Carca or Canca Arixa. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345.

CHILCOMBE. Roman Expeditionary Castrum. Rectangular, measuring 224 × 448. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 18.

CHURCH KNOWLE. (Brade Farm), I. of Purbeck. Roman boot-nails. O. L. Mansel. (fd. 1888, D. M.)

CRANBOURNE CASTLE. Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 54.

CRANBORNE CHASE. *Vide* WOODCUTS.

CORFE CASTLE. *See* I. OF PURBECK.

CREECH GRANGE. *See* I. OF PURBECK.

COKER'S FROME, near Dorchester, Slyar's Lane. Stone coffin. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1841, pt. II, 303.

DEWLISH. Roman pavement. Hutchins, ii, 607; *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345; Murray's *Guide to W. D., and S.*, 1869, xxxix.

——— Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 14.

DORCHESTER. AMPHITHEATRE. "Maumbury Rings." A full description and five plans are given in Stukeley's *Itinerary*, 1776, 163-175; *vide* also *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1840, pt. I, 473-4; *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 352; *J. B. A. A.*, xii, 258; Warne's *Vestiges*, 22.

——— Silver coin of Philippus I. Stukeley's *Itinerary*, 175.

——— BELL STREET. Urn, bowl, bronze ring from a skeleton. (Hogg Collection. D. M.)

——— BEGGAR'S KNAP (near south entrance). Coffin, four urns, amulets, cup (Shepton-Mallet ware), ring, pateræ. (H. C. D. M.)

——— CASTRA STATIVA. "Durnovaria" (?). *Guide to Dorchester*, Rev. W. Barnes; *Journ. Arch. Inst.*, xxii, 345; Warne's *Vestiges*, 21.

——— CASTRA STATIVA = Isca Dumnoniorum (?), and Roman capital of the South of England. *J. B. A. A.*, xxxiv, 271.

——— CASTRA STATIVA = Isca Dumnoniorum (?), and head-quarters of the Second Legion. *J. B. A. A.*, xxxvii, 326-7.

——— DURNGATE STREET. Amphora, fibulæ, weight, New Forest pot. (fd. 1881. H. C. D. M.)

——— FAIR GROUND (north-east corner of). Enamelled bronze sword-belt fastener. (fd. 1882. C. C. D. M.)

——— FROME CAMP, one mile east of Dorchester, not far from Conquer Barrow, and now nearly obliterated. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 21.

——— FORDINGTON, under the road, close to Fordington Vicarage. Cemetery, fifty Romano-British graves, containing skeletons, urns, glass pins, beads of glass, amber, and bone, bronze wrist torque, bronze wire necklace, bronze buckle, Kimmeridge coal armillæ, coin of Postumus and Constantine I—the latter was taken out of the jaws of a skeleton; small Upchurch jar. Hutchins, ii, 793; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1839, pt. I, 196 and 527-531. (fd. 1839, D. M.)

——— under north wall of Church of Fordington St. George. Horse-bit, middle of bar iron, the rest bronze, and two bronze rings, *horse and man buried together.* Hutchins, 3rd edit., ii, 793; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1841, pt. I, 81-82. (fd. 1840, D. M.)

——— FORDINGTON HILL, adjacent to. Cemetery, 200 skeletons at a depth of four to five feet. Hutchins, 1st ed., i, 574. (fd. 1747.)

FORDINGTON, near the pound, N. W. of the church. A sword blade two feet and a half long; 100 skeletons, twenty urns, coin of Hadrian, iron rings, etc. Hutchins, 2nd edit., iv, 411. (fd. 1810.)

——— FORDINGTON FIELD, by the Wareham Road, about 300 yards west of Conquer Barrow. Three graves containing skeletons, fibulæ, and urns, and in a hole near, horns, bones of animals, tiles, brick and glass. (fd. by Mr. Thomas Hardy.)

———— rings, bronze key, etc. (H. C. D. M.)

——— GALLOW'S HILL. Arrow heads. (D. M.)

——— GAOL (near the). Stylus, fragment of silver mirror, Kimmeridge-shale armillæ, iron culter, javelin head, knives, brick with footprints of dog, urn. (H. C. D. M.)

——— FORDINGTON PARISH, Wareham Road. Upchurch bowl. (fd. 1846? D. M.)

——— RAILWAY CUTTING. Ditto, ditto.

———— Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, 22.

——— IN THE GROUNDS OF THE GAOL, on the site of the old castle. (*a*) Coins, Constantius the Great and Domitian; (*b*) a very fine pavement (centre of?) 20 feet square; (*c*) small pieces of another (or others); (*d*) patera of Upchurch ware, two amphora handles; (*e*) stone roofing tiles; (*f*) remains of walls and portions of cement in various colours, fragments of glass, a boar's tusk, the cork of an amphora with a circular bronze plate and ring on the top; (*g*) foundations of a wall 36 feet in length. Hutchins, ii, 394-6. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 344, 348. Warne's *Vestiges*, 22. (fd. 1858. The pavement is preserved in the gaol chapel. H. C. D. M.)

——— near COUNTY GAOL (but distinct from the remains therein). Extensive foundations of a building—walls 2 feet high, 18 ins. thick, coloured vermillion—a passage 13 feet long, and 6 feet wide, paved with tesseræ. (fd. by Mr. Hogg, 1880.)

——— GLYDE PATH HILL, in a meadow, close to the bottom of, between the north wall and the river Frome. Several human skeletons; three small vases, one being of light-red ware of Græco-Roman character; round the neck of one skeleton was an iron collar, fastening behind with a spring. Hutchins, ii, 397; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1841, pt. II, 303. (fd. 1841.)

——— HIGH STREET. Amphora, bowl, drinking cup, glass, three Kimmeridge-shale legs of couches, three fragments of engraved Kimmeridge-shale, stone mortarium, bronze armilla, etc. (H. C. D. M.)

——— NORTH SQUARE. Antefixa, large fragments of Samian bowl, earpick, cochlear, fibulæ, rings. (H. C. D. M.)

——— ORCHARD STREET. Three bronze spurs, stylus, fibulæ, armilla, crucible, some hairpins, etc., etc. (H. C. D. M.)

——— PEASE LANE, near the Unitarian Chapel. Two urns of black ware. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1856, pt. II, 755. (fd. 1856.)

——— POUNDBURY. "Castra Stativa" (?). A Roman camp, according to Rev. C. W. Bingham and Rev. W. Barnes. (Mr. Warne considered it Danish.) *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 344, 353, 355.

———, ——— Coins of the latter end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. (In cutting the Wilts, Somerset, and Dorset Railway.) Barnes's *Guide to Dorchester.*

———, ——— north-east slope of, outside the vallum, between railway cutting and the river. Coffin of Hamhill stone. *Guide to Dorchester*, Rev. W. Barnes. (In cutting the Wilts, Somerset, and Dorset Railway.)

———, ——— in the railway cutting. Iron sword, with tong, 1 foot 9 in

long, 2 in. broad ; coins, small "Upchurch" jar, 10 in. high, of coarse red and grey ware (unequally burnt). (fd. 1855. D. M.)

DORCHESTER, POUNDBURY, BRIDPORT ROAD, adjacent to. Imperfect "New Forest" jar. (fd. 1855. D. M.)

——— ROADS. The Via Iceniana "seems to have run past Dorchester to Bridport, with a branch to the fosse way at Ischalis or Ilchester, and another to Crewkerne" (Rev. C. W. Bingham). *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345 ; Warne's *Anc. Dorset; Arch. Journ.*, xxxii, 258.

——— SIDNEY TERRACE. Remains. (D. M.)

——— SOMERLEIGH, on the west side of the town, in Holy Trinity parish. Tesselated pavement, and portion of a hypocaust (?) and walls, coin of Maximian, found by Mr. Pearce Edgecumbe. *D. County Chron.*, Aug. 1, 1889. About thirty years ago a similar pavement was found some 15 yards to the south of the same spot.

——— near SOUTH ENTRANCE. In fosse of outer fortifications, interments, skeletons, urns, patera, calcined bones of a child in an urn, etc. (H. C. D. M.)

——— SOUTH WESTERN STATION. Subway. Pins. (H. C. D. M.)

———, SOUTH STREET, behind the grammar school. Bronze statuette of Mercurius Mercator, seated on a rock of lead, with a bag in his right hand (after the model of the statue found at Pompeii). Hutchins, *Dorset*, ii, 394 (figured). (fd. 1747. D. M.)

———, ——— Spear-head of bronze, coins, pottery, and other remains found in profusion about 5 feet below the surface, under the wall which divides the school playground from the garden of Napper's Mite. *Journ. of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xii, 25. (fd. 1865.)

———, ——— Bronze "trulla" or dipping ladle, 11½ inches long. (D. M.)

———, ——— Bowl, urn, and patera of grey-black ware, Samian patera marked P.AM.B.R.N.I., another marked OFCAI., glass, bronze spur, fragment of large amphora. (fd. 1857-81. H. C. D. M.)

——— in a garden in the back lane parallel to South Street. A large mosaic pavement found, 3 or 4 feet deep. Hutchins, ii, 394. (fd. 1725.)

——— at the south-west angle of the town. A fragment of tesselated pavement, 14 feet by 8 feet, of varied colours. Hutchins, ii, 396 ; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1841, pt. II, 413, 414. (fd. 1841.)

———. TRINITY RECTORY. Black vase of elegant shape. Buller. (1851. D. M.)

——— STRATTON MANOR, High Street. Glass bottle, minus lip and foot, 1½ in. high, with other fragments of glass, several tegulæ, part of a hypocaust. (fd. about 1882. D. M.)

——— VALLUM, section shown of, at Wollaston Field. (fd. 1865.)

——— WEST WALKS. Wall, fragment of, *teste* Roach Smith. (*In situ.*)

——— WAREHAM ROAD, near. Interments, a large "olla", grey black ware, a clay heater, patera, key, in pits, found in widening the South Western Railway—connected with a cemetery in this vicinity. (fd. by Mr. Hogg, 1884.)

——— WEYMOUTH ROAD. Water-bottles, urn, tweezers, etc. (H. C. D. M.)

——— WOOLLASTON FIELD. Bronze armilla, with four different patterns. (fd. in 1882. C. C., D. M.)

———, ——— Small ivory figure, with perforations for attachment of legs and arms—probably a child's toy. (fd. in 1882. C. C. D. M.)

DORCHESTER, Walls, direction of, former extent of, 65 paces long, 6 feet thick, and 12 feet high. About 1764, eighty-five feet of the wall were pulled down, and only 77 feet left standing. *Guide to Dorchester,* Rev. W. Barnes; Hutchins, ii, 394; *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 348; Warne's *Vestiges*, 22.

——— Precise locality not defined. Coins, bronze fibula and stylus, bronze female bust with helmet, one-and-a-half inch long; bronze female figure, three-quarter length, three inches long; seal, one-and-a-half long over all, containing an onyx cameo of Roman date—a Norse palm branch, PTA.—set in a silver bezil, with an eye at one end making it into one of a pair of seals; round the onyx is the legend "Sigillum de Melecūbe", probably Bingham's Melcombe in this county (says Mr. H. J. Moule); Samian bowl. *J. B. A. A.*, xx, 273; Willis's *Current Notes*, March 1855. (D. M.)

——— In a meadow to the east of the town. Coins, 300 to 400, majority of the third brass with some of the first brass, ranging from A.D. 117 to 326; also Samian pottery, the front of a heart-shaped clasp with enamel. Hutchins, ii, 396; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1840, pt. II, 528.

——— Bronze pin delicately ornamented with curious flat head, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad: the pin is seven inches long, and seems to have been two or three inches longer originally (compare examples in Royal Irish Academy). *Dorset Field Club Trans.*, iv, 104 (figured); *Arch. Journ.*, xxxviii, 324.

——— Pavements. *J. B. A. A.*, xii, 25; xx, 201; *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 344.

——— Coins. *J. B. A. A.*, xii, 258.

——— Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, 22.

DUNGEON CAMP. *See* BUCKLAND NEWTON.

DUNTISH. CAMP. Remains. Murray's *Guide to W., D., and S.*, 1869, xxxix; Warne's *Vestiges*, 10.

EMSWORTH. A pavement. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 17.

FONTMEL. Bronze spear matrix (? Roman). (C. C. D. M.)

FRAMPTON. Tesselated pavement. Lysons, *Reliq. Brit. Rom.* (figured); *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345.

FORDINGTON. *See* DORCHESTER.

GUSSAGE COW DOWN. Station, Vindogladia. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345.

HALSTOCK. Pavement, two feet under surface. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1818, pt. I, 5, 6. (fd. 1818?)

HAMWORTHY. POOLE ESTUARY. Station "Morinio". Warne makes this the terminus of the Vicinal way which leads direct from the Via Iceniana, a little north of Badbury. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 26.

HODHILL, near Blandford. Camp within a Celtic camp. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1865, pt. II, 299; Murray's *Guide to W., D., and S.*, 1869, xxxix; *Arch. Journ.*, xxxii, 129.; Warne's *Vestiges*, 2.

——— Amphoræ stands (?). *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1840, pt. I, 635-6. (fd. 1839.)

——— Coins (mostly Claudius). *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1865, pt. II, 299. (fd. 1865.)

——— Weapons, fibulæ, spurs, buckles, etc. *J. B. A. A.*, iii, 94-9.

——— Arms, coins, implements, ornaments, etc. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345, 380; xxxii, 130; C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua.*

HORCHESTER. Road. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 356.

——— Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, 10.

——— Station on the Vicinal Way between Durnovaria and Ischalis. Warne's *Vestiges*, 10.

HORTON. "Upchurch" and "New Forest" jars, a great number of coins. Monograph MS. by Dr. Smart. (D. M.)

——— Vases and coins. (D. M. Lord Shaftesbury.)

IBERNIUM. *See* KINGSTON DOWN.

JORDAN HILL. *See* PRESTON.

KIMMERIDGE. "Coal money," the refuse of shale worked in the lathe. *See* also under Purbeck, I. of. *J. B. A. A.*, i, 325. (D. M.)

——— Its shale manufactory. Warne's *Vestiges*, 24.

KINGSTON DOWN. Station Ibernio or Ibernium. Warne's *Vestiges; Archæologia*, 1863, vol. 39, pp. 85, 92.

LAMBERT'S CASTLE. CASTRUM. Inner area, 12 acres. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 7.

LEIGH. CASTRUM. Nearly obliterated; it was planted in 1800. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 10.

LENTHAY, or LENTHY COMMON. Pavement. Murray's *Guide to W., D., and S.*, 1869, 170; *J. B. A. A.*, i, 57; *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345, 360-1. (Now in the Dairy of Sherborne Castle.)

LISCOMBE. Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 10.

LONGBREDY. Fibulæ. (D. M.)

LULWORTH CASTLE, near. Statue, in metal, of Cybele (?). *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1791, pt. I, 1097.

LYME, UP. Pavements, querns, and coins. *J. B. A. A.*, vi, 451.

LYME. Station, Londinis. Stukeley, 1776, 160; *Arch Journ.*, xxii, 345. Warne's *Vestiges*, 7.

MAIDEN CASTLE. Bronze ornaments; used for Roman residence, *teste* C. Roach Smith; Roman tiles and extensive remains showing Roman occupation. *J. B. A. A.*, xii, 25; *ibid.*, xxviii, 44; *ibid.*, xl, 228. An excellent plan is given, *J. B. A. A.*, xxx, 406; also in *Guide to Dorchester* (Case).

——— ——— Portion of the back of a bronze statue.

——— ——— Portion of a "lorica" (the "thorax" or "pectorale"?) in bronze, with figure of a warrior holding a spear in one hand, and a long-shaped shield in the other, a head of Medusa on his breast. (fd. in 1884. Both in C. C. D. M.)

MAIDEN NEWTON. Tesselated pavement. Hutchins, ii, 687.

MARNHILL. Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 2.

MAUMBURY RINGS, or MEMBURY RINGS. *See* DORCHESTER, Amphitheatre.

MELBURY ABBAS. Interments, skeletons and coins. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1846, pt. II, 633.

MELCOMBE HORSEY. Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 10.

MILBORNE. Camp. Murray's *W., D.*, and *S.*, 1869, xxxix; Warne's *Vestiges*, 14.

MILTON ABBEY. Bronze disc, with bust of Minerva. *J. B. A. A.*, xii, 258.

PILLESDON or PYLS DUN. Very small Castrum, within the Celtic work. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 7.

POOLE. Station, Bolvelaunium. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345. Warne places this station at Christchurch.

PORTLAND, North Common, below the Verne. Coins, etc. *Arch. Journ.*, xxiii, 75, 149.

——— East side of. Interment: dagger, pateræ, drinking-cup, etc. (fd. 1889. D. M.)

——— Black ware jar and bowl. (fd. by P. Weston. D. M.)

——— Large urn, with lead rivets. (D. M.)

——— Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, 22.

——— Romano-British pottery. *Arch. Journ.*, xxvii, 217 (figured). (fd. 1868.)

——— Encampment (?). Sarcophagi, probably Celtic (?). *J. B. A. A.*, xxviii, 204.

POUNDBURY. *See* DORCHESTER.

PRESTON, JORDAN HILL. Station, Clavinium. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345; Warne's *Vestiges*, 21.

PRESTON, JORDAN HILL. Arca Finalis. Coote's *Romans of Britain*, 105.

——— ——— Foundations, pillars, coins, and pottery. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1844, pt. I, 185-6 ; Price's *Roman Antiquities*, 34.

———, ——— Pottery, tesseræ, coins. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1844, pt. i, 185-6 ; *Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, iv, 2nd series, 225.

———, ——— Pavement. *J. B. A. A.*, xxviii, 94.

———, ——— Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, 22.

———, ——— 12 Upchurch vessels of various forms, small ; 4 (imitation) Samian ditto, and many other jars of different wares. Ornamental slab of Kimmeridge coal, etc. Warne's *Vestiges*, 223. (Warne Collection. D. M.)

——— near, east side of Jordan Hill, south-west of the Pavement. Cemetery. In a ploughed field the compiler of these notes picked up in the course of an hour or two more fragments of jars (cinerary urns ?) than he could conveniently carry, of at least twelve different kinds of manufacture, but all of coarse ware.

PUNCKNOLL. Coins, Postumus and others. Hutchins, ii, 769.

PURBECK, ISLE OF. Kimmeridge coal discs, 1½ to 4½ inches in diameter. Hutchins ; Warne's *Vestiges*, 24.

——— CHURCH KNOWLE. Brades Farm. Roman boot-nails from a kistvaen, 1888. (D. M. O. L. Mansell.)

——— CORFE CASTLE. King Edward's Bridge. Ornamented disc of Kimmeridge coal, bronze compasses. Purbeck Papers, 225.

——— CREECH GRANGE. Remains not yet explored.

——— Pierced tile for hypocaust floor. (D. M.) Patera, Samian ware (rivetted). Potter's tool. (D. M. Stillwell Collection.)

RADIPOLE. Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, 22.

RADIPOLE LANE. Interments, small imitation Samian patera, "Upchurch food jar" (the hand of the corpse had been bent so as to hold this vessel as is shown from the position of the phalanges), *teste* Mr. Moule. (D. M.)

——— Numerous interments, urns, etc. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1845, pt. I, 79.

RAMPISHAM. Pavement. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345 ; Murray's *W., D., and S.*, 1869, xxxix ; Hutchins, ii, 692 ; Warne's *Vestiges*, 10.

RUSHMORE. *See* WOODCUTS.

SHERBORNE. *See* LENTHAY. Pavement.

SLYAR'S LANE. *See* COKER'S FROME.

SPECTISBURY (so termed by Warne). *Vide* SPETTISBURY.

SPETTISBURY. Interments, swords, spear-heads, brass vessel, etc. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1857, pt. II, 662.

STAFFORD, WEST, HOUSE, seat of G. Floyer, Esq. Upchurch vases, small imitation Samian ditto, and others. (D. M.)

STRATTON. Warne's *Vestiges*, 14.

STURMINSTER MARSHALL. Pits, considered Romano-British by Warne. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 17.

SYDLING. Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 10.

TATTON FARM. *See* BUCKLAND RIPERS.

TARRANT HINTON. Villa, spears, fibulæ, coins, etc.

——— BARTEN'S TOWN. Buckle, rings, arrow-head, coins. (D. M.)

——— Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 2.

THORPE, near Maiden Newton. Pavement.

THORNFORD. Tesseræ, pottery, roof tiles, wall paintings, amphora, Samian ware, coins (3rd brass), mortaria, etc. *Proc. D. N. Hist. and A. F. C.*, 1877, 41-49.

TOLPIDDLE. Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 41.
VIA ICENIANA. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 356, xxxii, 258 ; Warne's *Vestiges ;* Murray, *W., D., and S.*, xxxix.
WARBARROW BAY. Remains. Warne's *Vestiges*, p. 24.
WAREHAM. Earthworks, attributed by G. T. Clark to post-Roman Britons. *Arch. Journ.*, xxxviii, 21-22.
—— On the site of the Mint : four pieces of pottery used for molten metal (C. C. D. M.)
——— Station, Morionum. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345.
——— Station, Moridunum. *J. B. A. A.*, xxxvii, 326.
WEYMOUTH. Temple, cemeteries, villas. *J. B. A. A.*, i, 324.
——— Pavement. Murray's *W., D., and S.*, 1869, xxxix ; *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345. By both the above probably Preston is meant.
——— BACKWATER. Coin. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1845, pt. I, 79.
——— In the midchannel of the BACKWATER. Very fine Amphora, four feet high ; also some small vessels. (fd. December 1888. D. M.)
——— BAY. Miniature amphora, 1 inch high, dredged, covered with serpulæ. (D. M.)
——— WESTHAM. Bronze statue of Hercules holding club, 4½ to 5 inches high, with pedestal. (fd. 1889. Gordon. D. M.)
WIMBORNE. Station, "Vindogladia", and Remains. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345 ; Hutchins, vol. iii, 178 ; Warne's *Vestiges*, 5.
WINTERBOURNE, KINGSTON. Coins, pottery, fibulæ, knives, hooks, etc. (fd. by J. C. Mansell-Pleydell, 1889. D. M.)
WYNFORD EAGLE. Villa, coins. *J. B. A. A.*, xx, 273.
——— Pavement. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345.
WOODCUTS, near Rushmore. Most extensive and important remains.
——— ROMANO-BRITISH VILLAGE. Excavated by General Pitt-Rivers and fully described by him in his monumental work, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase near Rushmore* (privately printed, 1887). The importance of these discoveries it would be difficult to over-estimate. They are so numerous that they can only be briefly and imperfectly summarised here. They comprise 15 *human skeletons* (the males averaging 5 feet 2 inches, the females 4 feet 10 inches only). This number is exclusive of new-born infants.
——— Pottery, a vast number of fragments, of which over 20,000 are described as of "superior" manufacture.
——— Coins, 197, ranging from Caligula, A.D. 37, to Magnentius, A.D. 353.
——— Bones of the following animals : badger, dog, fox, fowl, goat, horse, ox, rabbit, pig, pine marten, polecat, red-deer, roe-deer, sheep, and a great quantity of oyster shells.
——— Fruit implements of every kind.
——— Four hypocausts.
——— Bronze and iron objects in great variety, including bronze and silver and bronze-gilt and silver-gilt fibulæ, rings, nails, knives, brooch inlaid with fine mosaic, glass, beads, some of pale pink coral, etc.
——— Bone spoons and pins, objects in Kimmeridge shale (59), painted plaster, spindle-whorls.
——— Roofing-tiles, stone querns, etc., etc.
WOODYATES. Road, Via Iceniana. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii, 345.
WYKE REGIS. Interments, urns, etc. *J. B. A. A.*, xv, 283.

UNCERTAIN.

BERE HEATH. Small rectangular camp, probably Roman exploratory. Warne's *Vestiges*, 14.

BOCKLEY DYKE. Ditto. Warne's *Vestiges*, 6.

BOWCOMBE. Ditto. Warne's *Vestiges*, 11.

BOLVELAUNIO (Christchurch). Station. Warne considered the Avon as the eastern boundary of Dorset. *Vestiges*, 17.

CERNE. On the hill opposite "the Giant", small rectangular camp, probably Roman exploratory. Warne's *Vestiges*, 11.

CHESELBOURN. Opposite road from Hartfoot Lane. Ditto. Warne's *Vestiges*, 15. Now destroyed.

CHAL DUN (West Chaldon). On the ridgeway called the Roundy-Poundy. Small rectangular camp, probably Roman exploratory. Warne's *Vestiges*, 25, 49.

EASTBURY DOWN. Ditto. Warne's *Vestiges*, 3, 49.

HOLLYBUSH DOWN. Ditto. Warne's *Vestiges*, 6.

MILBOURNE DOWN. Ditto. Warne's *Vestiges*, 15.

OWER HEATH (east of Dick o' the Banks). Ditto. Warne's *Vestiges*, 25.

STEEPLETON DOWN (by the gate to Portesham). Ditto. Warne's *Vestiges*, 23.

SYDLING UPPER (in the Eweleaze). Ditto. Warne's *Vestiges*, 12.

STRATTON. Now destroyed by the railway. Ditto. Warne's *Vestiges*, 12.

J. J. FOSTER.

REVIEW.

A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories from the Persian, Tamil, and Urdu. With Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, by W. A. Clouston. Privately printed, 1889.

Mr. Clouston's latest work has been the editing of four interesting stories, two from the Persian, one from the Tamil, and one from the Urdu, together with some dozen shorter ones from the Persian. With the exception of the Tamil story they have all appeared before in English; but the works in which they are to be found are unknown, or not generally accessible; and the version of one of the stories has been reconstructed by comparison with an independent French translation. The Persian stories are supplied by a collection of moral tales and anecdotes entitled *Mahbúb ul-Kalúb*, or the Delight of Hearts, written about the beginning of the last century. A translation, or at least a full abstract, of the entire work would probably be of service to Western students. In the meantime we have cause to be thankful for the tales reproduced here from Mr. Edward Rehatsek's versions published at Bombay in 1870-71. The first is that of Nassar, a story illustrative of the paramount influence of fate in human affairs. A similar "moral" is enforced in a different way by the next, the story of Farrukhruz.

The Tamil tale of "The King and his Four Ministers", which follows this, is perhaps in some respects the most interesting in the volume. It narrates the accident by which one of the ministers obtains from the goddess Kálí information of three great dangers impending over the life of the king from which he can only be saved by measures which will place the minister himself in an equivocal position, and thereby expose him to the king's resentment, and possibly to death. The minister of course undertakes the risk and delivers the king. The king, however, suspects his deliverer, and the other three ministers have great difficulty in averting their comrade's doom by the stories they tell their master of crimes committed by haste in doing what for the moment appeared right, until the accused has an opportunity of clearing himself.

"The Rose of Bakáwalé", the next story, is a remarkable variant of the well-known theme of a band of brothers who set out to find a talisman which is to cure their father of some otherwise incurable ailment. As usual, it is the youngest only who succeeds, and who has to endure the envy and ill-usage of his elder brothers, until at the proper time he can vindicate his true worth and wed the sleeping beauty. This tale is translated from an Urdu version of a Persian work written in the year A.D. 1712; but it is evidently of Indian origin.

The remaining stories are shorter ones selected from Mr. Rehatsek's extracts from the work referred to above. Their subjects are various and all are amusing. An appendix, of the elaborate kind Mr. Clouston never tires of supplying to his readers, ends the book. It includes a handy summary of the adventures of Hatim Taï, which most readers have probably found a maze rather difficult to thread.

No one can take up this book without finding abundant illustrations of Mr. Clouston's amazing research. His knowledge of facetious tales, especially of mediæval *fabliaux*, is very wide. It is here, rather than in dealing with *märchen*, that he is at his best. This class of tales seems to yield a greater proportion of instances in which direct borrowing can be shown to be probable than any other class. The reason is that it is a comparatively late development, and one which played a large part in the chief literary movement of the middle ages. The individual tales can thus be traced from hand to hand with something more like certainty than those of a class found all over the world in every grade of civilization, and expressive, not merely of situations which could only be imagined after mankind had attained a high degree of advancement, but also of ideas common to almost every branch of the race. To facetious tales must be added apologues, with which Mr. Clouston is quite as much at home. Stories with a moral are the product of ethical thought; and they mark a considerable ascent in the scale of culture. The reflective nations of the east have developed them to a marked extent. Numberless stories of this kind grew up and were accumulated under Buddhist influence. They were frequently of a high order, full of point and humour; and they rapidly became popular. In this case again transmission can be shown by documentary evidence. Accordingly, facetious and moral tales are the stronghold of the party advocating transmission within historic times, of which Mr. Clouston is one of the ablest living leaders in this country. He has never been engaged,

so far as we know, in any active controversy on the subject; but, on the other hand, he has never shrunk from expressing his opinions. We believe those opinions to be founded on premises too narrow to warrant the general deductions he would draw; but they detract in no way from the value of his works, which are all useful to the student—and the one before us is not the least valuable.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. TYLOR'S VIEWS ON THE COUVADE.

By the Couvade, I need scarcely explain, is meant that custom in accordance with which the husband takes to his bed at the birth of a a child and is treated as if he were the mother of it. As is well known, this curious custom has been found in many parts of the world, and in parts so distant from one another as to preclude the idea of imitation. To say nothing of Béarn (whence it has derived its name), and the N.E. of Spain, we hear accounts of it from missionaries in North and South America, particularly in Guiana, in the south of India, in Borneo, and (according to Marco Polo) in China. In classical literature there are three clear allusions to it, viz., *Apoll. Rhod.*, ii, 1011, foll., among the Tibareni, a tribe on the south coast of the Black Sea; *Strabo*, iii, p. 165, among the Cantabri in the north of Spain; and *Diod. Sic.*, v. 14, in Corsica.

It seems then that, however absurd the custom may appear to us, yet there is some feeling or idea in human nature, at some stage of development, to which it corresponds. The difficulty is to say what this feeling or idea may be. I confess I do not think the explanation given by Mr. E. B. Tylor (*Early History of Man*, 3rd ed., p. 301, foll.) is entirely satisfactory. By him the term Couvade is extended so as to include another custom which, though no doubt connected with the one above named, is yet distinct from it; I mean the custom by which before or after (or both before and after) the birth of a child the father fasts entirely, or abstains from certain food, or from certain acts, lest he should injure the health of the child. Mr. Tyler's explanation that this is an outward expression of the idea that "the connexion between father and child is not only, as we think, a mere relation of parentage, affection, duty, but that their very bodies are joined by a physical bond; so that what is done to the one acts directly upon the other", is quite convincing, but obviously has reference only to the custom last mentioned, nor indeed does he apply it further.

Next he goes on to say that certain forms of the Couvade (meaning the Couvade strictly so-called) "involve giving over parentage to the father", and he traces a connexion between the two customs by saying (after Bachofen) that the father's going through the dietetic course above mentioned "may naturally become a legal symbol that he is the father". No one can say this is impossible, but the facts as given just before by Mr. Tylor himself, viz., that among certain tribes both parents perform the Couvade, and that among these same tribes, and others (where the father

only performs the Couvade), kinship is reckoned on the mother's side, and not on the father's, scarcely favour this view; nor have we any evidence (as far as I can gather) that those who practised the Couvade considered it as such a symbolic act. Again, we have plenty of evidence that certain peoples (at any rate in ancient times) believed that the father, and not the mother, is the parent; but the fact that this belief was held by various peoples at various times by no means goes to show that a popular savage custom was based on this belief. Thus, on the one hand, we find the Couvade as a custom, but no evidence that those who practised it believed in the special parentage of the father, and on the other hand we find the belief in such special parentage, but no evidence that those who hold this belief practised the Couvade.

How is this chasm to be bridged? Moreover, I think that if we consider for a moment by whom the Couvade has been practised, and by whom the belief, of which it is supposed to be the symbol, has been held, we have some evidence that the custom and the belief are quite distinct. The Couvade was practised in antiquity by tribes who are represented as backward in civilisation, the Tibareni, the Cantabri, the Corsicans, and in modern times by savages; while on the contrary, the belief that the father, and not the mother, is the parent is rather a philosophical than a popular notion. Thus *Diod. Sic.* (i, 80), represents it as held by the Egyptians. In the Code of Mann the mother is compared to a field bringing forth plants according to the seed that is sown, with which compare *Sophetul.*, 569, ἀρώσιμοι γὰρ πατέρων εἰσὶν γύαι; and in a familiar passage of the *Eumenides* it is urged on behalf of Orestes that "the bearer of the so-called offspring is not the mother of it, but only the nurse. . . . It is the male who is the author of its being; while she, as a stranger for a stranger, preserves the young plant," etc.; and Dr. Paley, who quotes (from Plutarch, *de Stoic. repug.*) an opinion of the Stoic Chrysippus to the same effect, and expressed in similar language. Again, if Sir John Lubbock (*Origin of Civilisation*, 3rd ed., p. 149) is right in concluding that the march of ideas in regard to relationship is, *first* a child is related to a tribe generally, *secondly* to his mother and to his father, *thirdly* to his father and to his mother, and *lastly* to both, then the notion of the special parentage of the father seems to imply some considerable degree of culture. I do not quote from the same writer's account of the Couvade (*ib.*, p. 15, foll.), because all that he says is stated more fully by Mr. Tylor, with whom he agrees on the whole; but I should like to add a word upon Prof. Max Müller's contribution to the subject. In *Chips from a German Workshop* (2nd ed., vol. ii, pp. 281-84), he rejects Mr. Tylor's explanation in favour of a more simple one of his own. "The poor husband was at first tyrannised over by his female relations, and afterwards frightened into superstition. He then began to make a martyr of himself till he made himself ill, or took to his bed in self-defence." As it appears to me, the professor first misapprehends the custom itself, and then falsely explains his own misapprehension. In the first place, the custom, so far from

making light of the father's functions, recognises his importance, and secondly, even if it did make light of him, that would not be because he was "tyrannised over by his female relations", but some other explanation would have to be sought. It is almost too much of a platitude to repeat that as civilisation in a community progresses, the reign of physical force is gradually limited; in other words, women are better treated, and that the husband bullied by his wife and female relations is the choice product of a nation's maturity. No doubt certain tribes, as the ancient Germans, paid especial honour to women, but this is exceptional. I do not suggest at all that Mr. Tylor cannot explain the Couvade, but merely that he has not done so. I am not prepared with any solution myself, but write in the hope that others, who know more about it, may give further elucidation to a somewhat dark subject.

R. C. Seaton.

A BRICKLAYER'S EFFECTS, 1681.

THE following document will probably be of interest, as throwing light upon the social condition of the working-classes towards the close of the seventeenth century. Inventories of well-to-do people are frequent enough, but it is somewhat rare to find an account, claiming to be complete, of the effects of a person in so humble a condition of life as Richard Towner.

A true and pfect Inventory of all and singular the goods chattells and psonall estate whatsoever of Richard Towner, Brick-Layer off St. Michajells in Lewes in the county of Sussex late Deceased taken the 27th of December 1681.

Imp'mis his wearing Apparrell and money in his purss . 01 10 00

In the Kitchen.

Itm. two pott hangers, 1 paire of hangers, 1 paire of tonges, 1 fire shovell, three spitts, one treft, 1 paire of bellows, one iron peele, one grid-iron, 4 hooks, 2 forkes, 6 scum̄ers, three candlesticks, one dripping pan 00 14 00

Itm. one pudding pan, one candle boxe, two salt boxes, one grate, one looking glass, one hour glass, one hussey, one breder, three brushes, two joyne stooles, one table, 5 chayers, one furnace, eight dishes, 24 trenchers, two trayes, 2 truggs, one bucket, one funnell, 2 dishes 10th handles 01 02 06

Itm. 19 greate and small pewter dishes, 4 plates, 10 porringers, 3 candle sticks, 5 sasers, one chamber pott, 2 cupps, one warming pan, one brass morter, 3 basting ladles, 4 skillets, one chopping knife 02 00 03

In the Parler.

Itm. one large table, 5 chayers, 4 Joyned stooles, one Lanthorne, 19 pieces of weare, one carpet, bookes, 3 dousse̅ of bottells . 01 05 00

It is evident that Towner, though only worth £6 9*s.* 9*d.* in all, was a superior specimen of his class. His house has two rooms, he has books (a Bible, Foxe's *Martyrs*, we may guess) and "pieces of weare". Altogether a more than ordinarily significant document this, giving interesting sidelights on the life of the time.

ERRATA.

Page 217, line 13, *for* "portion", *read* "fashion".
„ 222, „ 21, „ "thence", „ "Thrace".

All communications should be directed to "The Editor, Archæological Review", 270, Strand, W.C.

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THE LONG HUNDRED AND ITS USE IN ENGLAND.

CONSIDERABLE attention has of late been drawn to the "long" hundred (120) owing to recent novel theories of Old English measurements built upon the basis of this hundred. This long hundred is of very great importance, for it throws considerable light upon that early history of the European nations that is being gradually unfolded by the study of comparative philology. As such it has of late years received the consideration of several German philologists. One of the most eminent of these, Prof. Kluge, of Jena, has recently pointed out to me that the evidence of its use in England has never been collected. As I happened to have some notes by me concerning this long hundred, I have decided, at his request, to here put them on record.

This hundred of 120 was, there is every reason to believe, the original hundred of the Teutonic tribes. One proof of this is that sums expressed in this way form, almost without exception, the basis of the system of legal fines of the various tribes.[1] Another proof is that amongst the Teutons who longest preserved their native customs unimpaired by the influence of Latin Christianity, the hundred was generally the six-score hundred. It is only this Teutonic heritage that can explain the fact that in Old Norse the *hundrað* is, unless otherwise qualified, this long hundred. This qualification consisted of the neut. adj. *tīo-rætt*, "decimal", to signify the short hundred, which, as Pàl Vidalin concluded, was introduced amongst the Northmen in the train of Christianity.[2] A corre-

[1] Wilda, *Das Strafrecht der Germanen*, 125, 330, 358, 363; K. Lehmann, *Der Königsfriede der Nordgermanen*, 51.

[2] See the quotation from his *Skyringar* in Vigfusson's *Icelandic Dictionary*, *s. v.* "hundrað".

sponding adj., *tolf-rætt* (Icel. *tōlf-rætt*), "duodecimal", was used in the few cases when it was necessary to distinguish a hundred as a long hundred. But, as Pal Vidalin remarks, this necessity seldom arose, for every one knew that the long hundred was meant when native measurements, etc., were in question. Indeed, so familiar were the Icelanders with this long hundred that the learned Are (*Are hinn fróðe*), in speaking of the reform of the Icelandic calendar, describes the year as consisting of 304 days, whereas it should contain 305 days.[1] Here the hundreds are obviously long hundreds (3 × 120 = 360).

If we now turn to the oldest monument of Teutonic, namely Wulfila's Gothic Bible, we shall find that he renders *ἑκατόν*, when it occurs in the plural, by *hund*. In the singular he uses *taihuntaihund*, "tenth decade", and even translates *ἑκατονταπλασίων* by *taihun-taihund-falþs* (*falþs* = Eng. *fold*). This suggests that the Goths used a hundred of 120, and this view is supported by the translation of *πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς* of 1 Cor. xv, 6, by *fimf hundam taihun-tēwjam brōþrē*, where *taihun-tēws* means "decimal".[2] The *tualepti* of the *Lex Salica* has been cited to prove that the Salian Franks also used the long hundred.[3]

The Teutonic duodecimal system, which is so well preserved in the system of legal fines, is obviously the origin of this hundred of 120. Prof. Kluge, *Grundriss*, p. 405, explains it as arising from an amalgamation of the decimal and duodecimal systems, because, as the decimal hundred consists of 10 × 10, so should the duodecimal one consist of 12 × 12. But this explanation involves the difficult assumption that the Teutons compromised the difference between the (theoretically) perfect duodecimal hundred of 144 and the decimal hundred of 100 by reducing the larger

[1] Islendinga-bôk, ed. Möbius, c. 4: "höfðo talit í tveim misserom fjóra daga ens fjórða hundraþs," that is, having counted three complete hundreds, they went on to count four units out of the fourth hundred. *Ibid.*, *in fine*: "At retto tale ero í hverjo are v. dagar ens fjorða hunþraþs," counting in the same way five out of the fourth hundred.

[2] Holtzmann in *Germania*, ii, 424. I owe this and many other references in this article to Prof. Kluge, who has armed me with an advance copy of his admirable article on the pre-history of the old Teutonic dialects, which will appear in the next part of Paul's invaluable *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*.

[3] *Tualepti* is from a prim. Teut. **twalif-ti-z*, O.N. *tylpt*, a fem. noun corresponding to the Sanskrit fem. abstracts *shas-tí-s*, "sixhood" (O. Bulgarian *šestĭ*, O.N. *sētt*), *sapta-tí-s*, "sevenhood", *acī-ti-s*, "eighthood" (O.N. *ētt* = **ah-ti-z*), etc., which came to be used, as *tualepti* seems to be, to mean decades. See Johannes Schmidt, *Die Pluralbildungen der Indogermanischen Neutra*, 14 294, n. 1, 298.

denomination to 120. In default of any other explanation, I venture to offer another solution of the difficulty.

The ten primary numbers were, there can be little doubt, regulated by the number of fingers. All other numbers arise from addition to, or multiplication of, these primaries. One obvious way of progression was to represent each primary number by a decade. Thus, the first decade being represented by the already existing primaries, two was represented by twenty, three by thirty, and so on. Consequently the decade answering to ten was 100, which is only accidentally a multiple of ten by itself. This is shewn by the fact that in the next stage of progression, that of representing each primary by a hundred, the head of the series is not 100 × 100 but simply the tenth hundred. The Aryan name for the hundred was the neuter **kṃtó-m* (Skt. *çatá-m*, Greek *ἑ-κατό-ν*, Latin *centu-m*, Lith. *szìmta*, Goth. and Old Eng. *hund*). But as this word is used to form denominations for the decades in Sanskrit, Zend, Latin, Greek, and Old English, it is obvious that it cannot have originally meant "hundred". It has long been regarded as a contracted or elliptical form, and the latest suggestion is that it represents an original **tkṃtó-m*, from **dekṃtó-m*, "tenhood", the words "of decades" being understood. In other words, *kṃtó-m*, "hundred", is simply the tenth decade.

The Teutonic dialects preserve the common Aryan names for the primary numbers, but when we advance beyond these we find the Teutonic names differing considerably from those of the other Aryan tongues. The Aryan name for eleven simply expresses the addition of one to ten (Skt. *ēka-daçan*, Greek *ἕν-δεκα*, Latin *undecim*, etc.), and twelve similarly records the addition of two to ten (Skt. *tvā-daçan*, Greek *δώ-δεκα*, Latin *duo-decim*). But in Teutonic this system does not, apparently, begin until thirteen =3 + 10 (Goth. *þri-taihun*, O.H.G. *drī-zëhan*, O.E. *þrī-tēne*, O.N. *þrettān*). The Teutonic names for eleven (Goth. *ain-lif*, O.H.G. *ein-lif*, O.E. *end-leofan*, O.N. *el-lifo*), and for twelve (Goth. *twa-lif*, O.H.G. *zwe-lif*, O.E. *twelf*, O.N. *tolf*) clearly embody the names for one and two, but it is not certain that the suffix means ten. This suffix represents a Teutonic **lipe*, derived, by a second sound-shifting, from **liqe*, which forms the suffix to the Lithuanian numeral names from 11 to 19 (*vĕno-lika* 11, *dvy-lika* 12, etc.). Bopp was led by this Lithuanian use to suggest that this termination is a relic of a primitive name for ten, and Grimm, *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 246, favoured this view. But this is a mere hypothesis, having only the Lithuanian uses to support it,

The question now arises, Why has Teutonic preserved this obsolete and mysterious suffix in the case of 11 and 12 only? Grimm suggested that this was owing to the influence of the duodecimal system. The explanation that I now wish to propose is that the Teutons, under the influence of this duodecimal system, gradually came to regard 11 and 12 as primary numbers, and hence adopted for them a distinct suffix. Having come to look upon 11 and 12 as primaries, it was natural that they should, when they came to the decades, continue them to twelve. Thus where the older system finished the decades at 100 (10th decade), the newer one went on to 120 (12th decade). This explanation is, in some measure, countenanced by the fact that the Teutons continued the hundreds in like manner up to twelve, thus obtaining a thousand of 1200.

Further support for this theory may be found in the Teutonic names for 100 and for 120, which clearly expressed the meanings "tenth decade" and "twelfth decade". The decades are distinguished in Teutonic by the addition of the word *teguz*, "decade", connected by Brugmann with Skt. *daçát*, Greek δεκάς. Thus we have for 20 Gothic *twaitigjus*, O.H.G. *zwein-zug*, O.E. *twēn-tig*, etc. When we reach 70 a change in the denominations occurs. Gothic drops the suffix *tigus* and substitutes *tēhund* of the same meaning (70 *sibun-tēhund*, 80 *ahtau-tēhund*, 90 *niun-tēhund*, 100 *taihun-taihund*). The new suffix represents, according to Prof. Kluge, an Aryan *dēkṃta*, "decade", another form of *dĕkṃta*, which forms the decade-names in Sanskrit, Zend, and Latin (50 *pañcā-çát*, *pañcā-satem*, *quinqua-ginta*), and, in Greek (πεντή-κοντα).[1] The latter form in the strong grade form (*d*)*komta*, is also preserved, according to Prof. Kluge, in the Old Saxon prefix to the higher decades (70 *ant-sibunta*). In O.H.G. the decades from 70 to 120 have in the oldest MSS. the suffix *-zo* instead of the *-zug* = *teguz* of the earlier decades. Old English, probably owing to some re-formation, preserves the suffix *-teguz* and prefixes, tautologically, *hund* (70 *hund-seofon-tig*, 80 *hund-eahta-tig*, 90 *hund-nigon-tig*, 100 *hund-tēontig*, 110 *hund-endleofan-tig*, 120 *hund-twelf-tig*).[2] The forms of the numerals in Old Norse have been levelled, but the old distinction in the naming of the earlier and the later decades is recorded in the adjectives signifying "containing or consisting of

[1] The first syllable disappears according to rule. See Schmidt, p. 295.

[2] It is noticeable that the Lauderdale MS. of Alfred's *Orosius* sometimes omits the *hund* before the names of the higher decades.

so many decades".[1] Grimm suggested that this difference in the denomination of the decades before and after 60, or, in other words, in the first and second halves of the great hundred, is another relic of the Teutonic duodecimal system.

The preservation in O.E. of the term *hund-twelf-tig*, "twelfty", for the head of the series of decades is very remarkable, but there is every reason to believe it to be an ancient denomination. Indeed, Grimm, *Gesch. d. Deut. Sprache*, p. 251, supposed that the other Teutonic dialects had originally corresponding designations. The decade name "tenty" for 100 exists, as we have seen above, in Gothic, and also in O.H.G. *zëhan-zo*, later *zëhan-zug*, and in O.N. *tīu-tegir*, which has also *ellifu-tegir* for 110. But in O.N. *hundrað* has quite ousted the older **tolf-tegir* for 120. In O.H.G. the single hundred is invariably *zëhan-zug*, and plurals are sometimes formed by adding numeral adverbs, as *zwiro zëhanzug*, "twice tenty". But as a rule *hunt* is used for the plural, just as, in Gothic, this word coming into use in the singular at a very late period, whilst *hundert* does not occur until the twelfth century. Thus our evidence seems to shew that both 100 and 120 were known to the Teutons by decade-names, and it is possible that the use of the word *hund* for a plurality of hundreds was at first an elliptical expression referring to the *hund-twelf-tig* as the *hund* or decade *par excellence*. In translating Greek and Latin writers the word *hund*, although restricted to 120, might be used to translate ἑκατόν and *centum* in the plural, since in most passages it would make little real difference whether the short or the long hundred was understood by the readers. With constant use in this way, the word *hund* seems to have been also applied plurally by the Teutons to the short hundred, and eventually it came, as in O.H.G., to mean exclusively the short hundred. It was natural that it should also come to be used for the name of the single hundred.

The history here sketched in outline can be traced almost step by step in Old English. The instances of the use of *hund-tēontig* for 100 are very common, so that it will be necessary to quote very few examples. In the Laws of Ine, c. 70, § 1, we have *hund-tēontig ǣla* (100 of eels), and in 955 *centenis aestimatam mansiunculis* is translated *þa hunð teontiga hida land-boc*.[2] The pannage of 100

[1] Thus these adjectives are for 20 *tvī-tugr*, 30 *þrī-tugr*, 40 *fer-tugr*, 50 *fimm-tugr*, 60 *sex-tugr*, but for 70 *sjau-rœðr* (*sjau-tugr* also occurs), 80 *ātt-rœðr*, 90 *nī-rœðr*, 100 *tī-rœðr*, 120 *tolf-rœðr*.

[2] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, iii, 83, 18.

swine is expressed in the same year as *hund-teontiga swina ingang*.[1] Ælfric, in his Latin grammar (*circa* A.D. 1000), in the chapter on numerals, renders *centum* (*C*) by *hund-tēontig*, the ordinal *centesimus* by *se hundtēontigoðа*, and even *centumuir* by *hundtēontigra manna ealdor*.[2] But plurality of hundreds is represented by *hund*. In King Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* 144,000 is translated by *hundtēontig and feowertig ond feower ðusendo*,[3] and he refers to the 118th psalm as *on ðæm eahta ond hundælleftiogoðan psalme*[4] (in the eight and eleventieth psalm). In his Orosius, *hund* frequently translates *centum* in the plural, and is used occasionally in the singular.[5] He, however, represents *centum* by *hundtēontig* in one case.[6] In the translation of Beda attributed to Alfred *centum* in the plural is in the same way rendered by *hund*, as, *e.g.*, in giving the length of Britain,[7] but in one case *hundtēontig* is used in a marked way for the decimal hundred.[8] In King Alfred's will, 880-885, *hund* occurs both in the plural and in the singular, but a sword worth 100 mancuses is described as *on hund tēontigum mancusum*.[9]

So far the *hund* seems to be restricted to the short hundred, but it was clearly applied also to long hundreds. In the case of the Parker MS. of the Chronicle (A) the *mid CCL hunde scipa* of A.D. 893 and *sum hund scipa* of A.D. 894 may be either long or short hundreds. We have in the 894 case another early instance of *hund* in the singular. A clear case of *hund* meaning 120 is afforded by a charter of *circa* 984, wherein the contents of twenty-six estates belonging to Winchester are given separately in Roman

[1] *Cod. Dipl.*, iii, 283, 12.

[2] Ed. Zupitza, 281, 20; 283, 14; 28, 3.

[3] Hatton MS., ed. Sweet, 409, 9. [4] Id., 465, 23.

[5] "An hund monna," 70, 36 (an addition of the translator's); "an hund þusenda gehorsedra" = *cum centum millibus equitum*, 124, 34; "iiii. ond an hund scipa" = *centum et quatuor naves*, 176, 13; "M. wintra ond an hund," 288, 28.

[6] "Mid xxx. elpenda and Cgum" = *cum elephantis centum triginta*, 178, 1. Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, ii, § 67, explains the *-gum* as referring to the xxx (*þritigum*), but it is, I think, more probable to regard *Cgum* as an abbreviation of *hundtēontigum*.

[7] "Breoton . . . is norð ehta hund mīla lang and twā hund mīla brād" = *Brittania . . . per milia passuum octingenta in boream longa, latitudinis habet milia ducenta*, "Hist. Eccl.", i, c. i. See also the Peterborough Chronicle (E), which copies Beda. In the above case there can be no doubt as to *hund* = *centum*, since the measurements were derived by Beda from Gildas, *Hist.*, c. i, who copied them from Orosius, lib. i, c. 2, § 76.

[8] Lib. ii. c. 11: "þusend wintra and hund-tēontig and feower and sixtig" = *millesimo centesimo sexagesimo*.

[9] *Cart. Sax.*, iii, 179. No contemporary MS. is in existence.

numerals, amounting to 454 hides. In addition there is *ān hund hīda* at Chilcombe and *hundendlyftig hīda* at Whitchurch, besides *oðer healf to Faleðlea.* The total is summed up as *fīf hund hīda and ehta and hund ꝥeofontig hīda*[1] = five "hund" hides and eight and seventy. Taking the *hund* at Chilcumb to be 120, and adding the 110 at Whitchurch and the 1½ at Fawley, we get a total of 685½ hides, whereas if we calculate by the short hundred we should have 665½ hides against 578. It is therefore clear that, although there is a discrepancy in the figures, the *fīf hund* of the total means five long hundreds. The total meant by the charter is accordingly 678. The *hund hīda* at Chilcombe, which thus appear to be 120 hides, are called *c. mansis* in a charter of A.D. 909.[2] Again, in King Eadred's will, *ante* A.D. 955, we read *an ic ðam ercebiscop twa hund mancusa goldes beo hund twelftigum* = I grant to the archbishop two "hund" mancuses of gold by the twelfty (hund).[3] Here also, it may be noted, the singular is represented by *hund twelftig.*[4] As the singular is expressed twice by "CXX." in a contemporary Kentish charter of 805-810, whilst *ten hund* are also mentioned, it may well be that *hund* here means *hund-twelftig.*[5] Five hides (*mansae*) are recorded in a charter of 959 to have cost 120 gold mancuses, and ten others cost 200 gold mancuses.[6] We might hold that the *ducenti* here means two long hundreds, but the prices of the hides vary considerably in this charter, so that we cannot insist upon this instance. Enough has been here given to shew that *hund* sometimes meant 120, and, on the strength of the cases where we can prove what is meant by *hund*, it may fairly be argued that *hund* in other cases also meant 120.

[1] *Codex Diplomat.*, iii, 203. The Domesday entries of these estates, although they agree in many cases with the contents given in this charter, do not enable us to correct the figures of the charter.

[2] *Cart. Sax.*, ii, 283; *Cod. Dipl.*, ii, 153. The *c. mansae* in Downton and Ebblesbourne mentioned in this charter and in another of A.D. 932 in *Cart. Sax.*, ii, 381, must also mean 120 hides, unless we assume that C meant both 100 and 120 in the same charter.

[3] *Cart. Sax.*, iii, 75, 26; *Liber de Hyda*, p. 153. The charter is thus from a late MS. The compilers of the *Liber de Hyda* have mistranslated this *beo hund twelftigum* by "twelfthy hundryd pund" and "mille ducentas libras". But the editor's translation, *Lib. de Hyda*, p. 348, is even worse: "I give to the Archbishop [Odo] two hundred of mancuses of gold [as archbishop,] besides a hundred and twenty [as bishop]"!

[4] *Cart. Sax.*, iii, 75, 23, 28.

[5] Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, charter No. 37; *Cart. Sax.*, i, 459. Two long hundreds are expressed as "XL. et CC." in a charter of *circa* 831; *Ibid.*, No. 39.

[6] *Cart. Sax.*, iii, 264, 29; 265, 3.

In the singular the head of the series of decades, which I have, for convenience' sake, here called by the later name of the "long hundred", was naturally known by its ancient name of *hund-twelftig*. Thus the Parker MS. of the Chronicle, A.D. 893, gives the length of the wood of Andred as *hund-twelftiges mīla lang*, and Alfred twice translates *centum et uiginti* of Orosius by *hund-twelftig*.[1] In 1012 Queen Ælfgifu bequeaths two armlets and a neck-ring each of the value of 120 mancuses.[2] If, as I am inclined to believe, these ornaments were survivals of the old ring-money, it is natural that they should have been made of standard weights or values, as they were in Scandinavia.[3] Originally 120 was selected, as it was in the fine system, because it was the highest fixed denomination known to the Teutons, *thousand* simply meaning, as recorded in Old Norse, an indefinite number of hundreds. In the O.E. laws fines expressed by 120 occur in almost every chapter,[4] and values, measures, etc., are frequently expressed in this way in the charters.[5]

In later times it is obvious that *hund* became, no doubt owing to its constant use to translate *centum*, restricted to the short hundred. We have seen how the Middle English translator of the O.E. charters in the *Liber de Hyda* was puzzled by *hund twelftig*,

[1] Ed. Sweet, 124, 21 ; 174, 17.

[2] *Cod. Dipl.*, iii, 360, 18, 23 : "twegea bæagas, ægðer ys on hund-twælftigum mancussum . . . anæs swyrbeages on hund-twelftigum mancussum."

[3] An undoubted instance of the use of a gold ring as money occurs in a contemporary Kentish charter of A.D. 822, wherein the king states that he made this grant to Archbishop Wulfred "nec non pro eius placabili pecunia, id est anulus aureus [h]abens lxxv. mancusas, ut ab eo accepi" ; Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 101. A *bēah* or armlet of the value of sixty gold mancuses was bequeathed to Bath abbey in Æthelred's reign ; *Cod. Dipl.*, iv, 293. Upon the use of neck-rings and arm-rings as money in the north, see Schive, *Norges Mφnter i Middelalderen*, p. 2.

[4] The instances are so numerous that it is not practicable to give them in an ordinary footnote. Sums expressed in this way may be found frequently in Ine's Laws and throughout the whole collection up to the so-called Laws of Henry I. The Teutonic duodecimal system of fines, above referred to, is well represented in the O.E. Laws, but a decimal system was also in use. See Mr. Laughlin's essay in the American *Essays on Anglo-Saxon Law*, Boston, 1876, p. 279.

[5] A.D. 714, "cxx. mansae" ; *Cart. Sax.*, i, 193, 30 ; 195, 5. A.D. 732, "centum xx. plaustra"; *id.*, 215, 19. A.D. 814, "cxx. libras" ; *id.*, i, 490, 22. A.D. 832, "cxx. elmes hlafes", alms-loaves ; Sweet, O.E.T., ch. 40, Earle, *Ld. Ch.*, 105, 20. A.D. 832, "cxx. mensuras"; *Cart. Sax.*, i, 558, 29. A.D. 833, "pastura centum uiginti porcis" ; *id.*, i, 565, 16 ; 566, 22. A.D. 868, "cxx. denariis argenteis" (endorsed "wiðcxx") ; Earle, 140, 4. A.D. 875, "c. uiginti mancusas auri purissimi"; *id.*, 142, 8. A.D. 963-975, "hund-twelftig mancæs rēades goldes"; *Cod. Dipl.*, iii, 129, 19.

which he understood to mean 1200. There is a somewhat earlier mistranslation of a charter of 901-909, where "iiii. et c.xi. ueteres porci" are rendered by *feower and hund ændlæftig ealdra swīna*.[1] Here *ændlæftig*, "eleventy" (110), is treated as a compound of *hund* and of *endleòfan*, "eleven", so that *hund* is obviously regarded as meaning only 100. Its restriction to the short hundred caused the formation of such new expressions for 120 as *hund-twentig*[2] and even *hundtēontig and twentig*[3] = tenty and twenty! According to the old decade-system the first of these denominations would have meant 200.

The word *hundred* does not come into use until a comparatively late period.[4] This fact is an argument against the early origin of the territorial Hundreds, just as the fact of the Northamptonshire *Hundredu* containing 100 hides each is proof of their late origin.[5] In 1002 *ān hundred wildra horsa* are referred to in the interesting will of Wulfric Spott,[6] but we cannot determine the size of this hundred. According to Domesday, *hundred* was used to mean 120,[7] but as this evidence comes from such a Danish stronghold as Lincoln, it is not free from the suspicion of Danish influence. But when the *Dialogus de Scaccario* (12th cent.), l. i, c. 17, says that the hide "a primitiua institutione ex centum acris constat", it is clear, as Arthur Agarde contended three centuries ago,[8] that a long hundred

[1] *Cart. Sax.*, ii, 282; *Cod. Dipl.*, v. 167.

[2] A.D. 965-975, "þæra hund-twæntiga hida æt Wyrðæ"; Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, 526, 32; *Cod. Dipl.*, iii, 127, 9. Thorpe impossibly translates this as "the twenty hides". *Hund-twentig* is also used by Ælfric.

[3] Book of Martyrs, in Cockayne's *Shrine*, 85, 10. This obviously late expression is fatal to Cockayne's idea that this is a work of King Alfred's.

[4] The quotation from the Peterborough Chron. A.D. 656 in Bosworth-Toller is from a 12th century translation of a spurious charter.

[5] See the O.E. list printed in Ellis, *Domesday Book*, iv, lix; *Introd. to Dom. Bk.*, i, 184, and in Cockayne's *Shrine*, p. 184, who dates it between 1109 and 1118.

[6] Earle, *Land Chart.*, p. 221; *Cod. Dipl.*, vi, 149, 25, where it is printed *an hundra*. Kemble, however, used a late transcript.

[7] D. B., i, 336a, col. 1 and 2: "In ciuitate Lincolia erant tempore Regis Edwardi nouies centum et lxx. mansiones hospitatae. Hic numerus Anglice computatur, i[d est] centum pro C^{tum} xx^{ti} Ex praedictis mansionibus quae tempore Regis Eadwardi fuerunt hospitatae, sunt modo wastae CC. Anglico numero, i[d est] CCXL., et, eodem numero, septies centum et lx. sunt modo hospitatae." The last figure appears to be a mistake for lxx.

[8] In *A Collection of Curious Discoveries Written by Eminent Antiquaries*, [ed. by Thos. Hearne,] 1775, i, 45. From Agarde the statement has been copied by Kelham, *Domesday Illustrated*, 1788, p. 231, n. 1, and from Kelham it has descended to the local historians, *e.g.*, Nichols, *Leicestershire*, i, xlvi b, Poulson's *Holderness*, i, 14.

is meant. For it is clear that the typical hide consisted of 120 acres,[1] there being a remarkable consensus of evidence, ancient and modern, as to this figure. Mr. Eyton and Mr. J. H. Round have both fixed the contents of the typical ploughland of Domesday at 120 acres.[2] This figure was, no doubt, chosen for the same reasons as it was for the basis of the fine system, *i.e.*, as the head of the series of decades. When Richard's commissioners in 1198 fixed the ploughland at a hundred acres, there is little doubt that the long hundred was meant.[3] A later instance of the use of the long hundred in the same connexion occurs in notes on land measurement printed, from a late 16th century rental, at the end of Mr. Skaife's edition of Kirkby's *Inquests*, Surtees Soc., p. 444: "Memor[andum,] everie Knightes fee conteyneth in acres xxxii^{xx} [= 640], which is dxl^{tie} [5 × 120 + 40] at vi^{xx} to the Cth."

It is probable that most of the numerous wares sold in the Middle Ages in England by the hundred were counted by the long hundred. *Fleta*, lib. ii, c. 12, tells us that, in the 13th century, the last of herrings contained ten *milliaria* or thousands, each of which consisted of ten hundreds of six score each, and that the *centena* or hundred of canvas, cloth, and such like, contained six score ells, and the load called a "seem" consisted of six score pounds. Prof. Rogers[4] says that the long hundred was used in selling eggs, fish, stockfish, wainscot, nails, etc. In the case of stockfish[5] and wainscot continental influence might be suspected,[6] but this cannot be the case with nails. In this connexion it is interesting to reflect that the proverbial "tenpenny nail" was a nail sold at 10*d.* for the long hundred.

[1] In the *Historia Eliensis*, ed. Stewart, pp. 129, 130, upon the number of hides in an estate being measured to settle the disputed contents, it was found to consist of "unam hidam per sexies xx. acras", and the two hides at Wilburton contained 240 acres.

[2] Eyton, *Domesday of Dorset*, p. 22; Mr. Round in *Domesday Studies*, i, 208. Mr. Seebohm also decided upon the same figure.

[3] Roger of Howden, iv, 46: "statuerunt, per aestimationem legalium hominum, ad uniuscuiusque carucae wannagium centum acras terrae." Dr. Bryan Walker, in his able article on the Cambridgeshire Survey, *Proc. of Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, v, 102, has already suggested that the long hundred is here meant.

[4] *History of Agriculture and Prices*, iv, 209, 444, 455, 535.

[5] According to *Fleta* the hundred of stockfish was 160.

[6] Although the long hundred is now unknown in Germany, it was known to Adelung at the beginning of this century from the German dialects. Prof. Kluge quotes Nicholas Deter's *Arithmetica Nova*, Hamburg, 1654, as saying "ein Grosshundert ist 6 Steige als Bretter, Dehlen, Wagenschoss, Latten, Posen, Wallnüsse, Schullen, Ruchen, Klippfisch, Kese," etc. To this day deals are sold in England by the Petersburg Standard (Hundred) = 120 cubic feet.

Mr. Pell has jumped at the extraordinary conclusion that because the Anglo-Saxons by a hundred meant 120, therefore they increased every unit in the same proportion. That is, they called 60 fifty, 6 five, and, consequently, when they said 1 they meant $1\frac{1}{5}$. The astounding statement here put last is no deduction of mine, but is an actual assertion of Mr. Pell's. Nothing but the most complete and unassailable evidence would induce us to believe that any body of sane men ever hampered themselves with a double system of numerical notation such as Mr. Pell so confidently asserts the English did. The practical result would be that if A said he held 60 acres, B might consider he was using the ordinary notation and therefore meant fifty, whilst C might consider he was using the Pell numeration and therefore meant 72. Mr. Pell asks us to believe that the double system of notation existed without the Domesday commissioners uniformly adopting one or the other. Canon Taylor, in his eagerness to embrace any new theory, good, bad, or indifferent, has adopted Mr. Pell's monstrous theories, which, thanks to him, have been embalmed for the wonderment of future generations in the *New English Dictionary*. In this monumental work we are told, *s.v.* 'Carucate', that "the normal carucate is either 120 acres or 80 acres by the Norman number (5 score to the hundred) and 144 acres or 96 acres by the English number (6 score to the hundred)." That is, what the English called 120 and 80 acres was really 144 and 96 acres ($1 = 1\frac{1}{5}$)!

Now let us examine the basis of this strange theory. It clearly depends upon the fact that the Anglo-Saxons called 120 a hundred, and upon the assumption that they divided this 120 into 100 parts, so that 1 meant $1\frac{1}{5}$. This is as much as to say that, because we call 112 lbs. a hundredweight, we call 56 lbs. fifty, and so on. Apart from the intrinsic improbability of 1 ever meaning $1\frac{1}{5}$ with any race of men whatever, it is evident that the whole theory rests upon a misapprehension. It is, as will be seen above, hardly correct to say that the Anglo-Saxons called 120 a hundred. The real name was the decade-name *hund-twelftig*, which obviously depends upon a normal unit of $1 = 1$. In the whole range of the A.S. charters, which I have been constantly using ever since I read Mr. Pell's papers in 1885, there is no instance that proves that they ever used 5 to mean 6, or 1 to mean $1\frac{1}{5}$, but there are several instances to shew that they gave them their proper and natural value. Mr. Round, in his scathing exposure of Mr. Pell's figures and theories, has not examined this *Anglicus numerus* theory, but his strong common sense has instinctively led him to

question Mr. Pell's use of it. In the November number of this *Review* Mr. Pell triumphantly parades his proofs of the existence of this practice of calling $1\frac{1}{5}$ one. They are ludicrously inadequate to support any such extravagant assumption. His chief proof, which has already appeared twice in this *Review*, is a table shewing that certain holdings in Great Shelford, Cambridgeshire, described respectively as containing 15 acres and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres in the Hundred Rolls, are said, in the Ely survey of 1277, to consist of 18 and 9 acres respectively. This is proof, in Mr. Pell's eyes, that the English, even so late as the thirteenth century, called 18 fifteen and 9 seven and a half. It, of course, proves nothing of the kind. The Hundred Rolls are returns of services, etc., due to the King, whereas the Ely survey deals with services due to the Abbot of Ely. Now if Shelford were a case in which beneficial hidation existed—that is, in which the assessment for geld had been reduced by the simple process of reducing the number of hides upon which it was paid—it is obvious that the Hundred Rolls would give the reduced estimates, whilst the Abbot's survey would give the full contents. In other words, it is a parallel to a house being valued at £25 in the overseers' books and at £30 in the landlord's books, and Mr. Pell might just as reasonably argue that this modern practice proved that we still mean thirty when we say twenty-five. This reduction in area in answering to the King does not rest upon presumption, but can be proved. In the Ramsey Chartulary, i, 475, Barton, Bedfordshire, is said to answer to the King for 10 hides, but to the Abbot of Ramsey for $11\frac{1}{2}$ hides and half a virgate, in addition to the croft and cotland. In the Domesday Survey, i, 210 b, col. 2, the manor is entered as answering to the King for 11 hides, although it contained 12 ploughlands, which is just about the figure at which it answered to the Abbot according to the Chartulary. In the same Chartulary, vol. ii, p. 4, we read that Cranwell, in the same county, answered to the Abbot for its actual contents of 11 hides, $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and a cotland of a third of a virgate, besides the demesne of the court, whose contents were unknown. The whole of the manor answered to the King for 10 hides. This is precisely the number of hides given in Domesday (*ibid.*), although there were 12 ploughlands. We see in both these cases that the reduction in estimate agrees with that in the Survey. Now let us take Mr. Pell's instance of Great Shelford. It is entered in the Survey at vol. i, fo. 191a, col. 2, as "Escelforde". We there read that, although there were eleven ploughlands cultivated by eleven teams, the manor was only

assessed to the King at 9 hides and 24 acres. Calculating the ploughland at what all evidence shews to be its normal contents, viz. 120 acres, and deducting a sixth from the eleven ploughlands, we have a result of 9 hides 20 acres. The disparity between this and the 9 hides and 24 acres of Domesday is so trifling,[1] that we may fairly claim that in this manor the assessment was reduced by one-sixth. This is precisely the difference between the two sets of figures given by Mr. Pell, and it is therefore clear that they have no connexion whatever with the imaginary practice of calling 6 five, etc. Mr. Pell's only other evidence, apart from his own calculations, which rest on air, is that the compiler of the *Liber Eliensis* states that Æthelwold bought 12 hides from Leofric, and that the King's charter mentions only 10 hides. It never seems to have occurred to Mr. Pell that the land bought about A.D. 970 as 10 hides might in 1105 or so, owing to extended cultivation, represent 12 hides. But even if this instance were stronger than it is, it would not be strong enough to prove that the English ever called 12 ten. All the fanciful calculations that Mr. Pell has based upon this assumption, including even his delicious "Ready Reckoner" (p. 258), may therefore be safely left to slumber in oblivion by the Domesday student who does not wish to waste his time.

The only abiding principle underlying Mr. Pell's calculations is that the figures in Domesday, or wherever found, have to produce a certain total that Mr. Pell has already fixed upon. To do this virgates may mean hides, carucates may mean virgates, and, in short, anything may mean anything else. This is well exemplified at p. 249 above. Here we have a clear statement that two hides contained 240 acres ("duas hidas duodecies xx. acrarum arabilium"). But this entry has to be made to fit in with other figures previously determined upon, in an equally reckless way,[2] by Mr. Pell, and so the 240 acres are transmuted into 576! To reach this result, he coolly reads the passage as meaning two hides *each* of

[1] In the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, 501a, the figures are 9 hides 14 acres, but 24 acres in MSS. B and C. The *Inquis. Comitatus Cantabrig.*, ed. Hamilton, p. 47, give 9 hides and 29 acres. The Domesday figures appear to be the correct ones, and this supports Mr. Round's contention that the *Inquis. Com.* is a copy of, and not the original, returns of the Survey.

[2] That is, Mr. Pell evolves a total of 864 acres "as nearly as possible" from the survey of 1277, whereas the figures given in his original paper only shew, when reckoned at their ordinary value, a total of 596 acres 3 roods, or, accepting Mr. Pell's estimate of the cotters' lands and of Penny Croft, 608½ acres and 3 roods.

240 acres, making 480. It should be pretty clear to anyone that these hides of 120 acres are hides by the great hundred or "hundtwelftig". But not so with Mr. Pell. He says the imaginary hide of 240 acres is reckoned "*Anglico numero*", and he accordingly, on his theory that one means $1\frac{1}{5}$, increases it to 288 acres. And so these houses of cards are built.

It should be stated that the liberties here taken with the figures are palliated by another delusion that plays almost as great a part in Mr. Pell's calculations as the *Anglico numero*. This is that the term *wara* means the idle shift or fallow land of a manor, assumed, when necessary for his theories, to be untaxed, so that an acre of *wara* is—to put it in its native absurdity—"*Anglico numero*" $1\frac{1}{5}$ acre + $1\frac{1}{5}$ acre. That is one is $2\frac{2}{5}$! The basis of this theory, which is stated by Mr. Pell most dogmatically as a fact, is a guess that *wara* is equivalent to the Low Latin *warrectum*, "fallow land". Not a vestige of proof, other than the superficial resemblance of the two words, is adduced to prove that this is the meaning of *wara*. Yet Mr. Pell goes on contentedly building vast edifices of calculations on this shadowy basis. Even if the guess were true, Mr. Pell's application of the *wara* theory in the case of Wilburton would still be wrong. His survey of 1277 shows that the arable land of the demesne lay in three fields of nearly equal extent. This is pretty good evidence that the manor was in a three-course system of cultivation,[1] so that only one third of the arable land, not one half as Mr. Pell calculates, lay fallow in one year. In the next place *wara* is most certainly not connected with *warrectum*, which is merely a Latinization of the Old French *garect*, *garcit*, etc. (modern French *guéret*). This is derived from the Low Latin *ueractum*, the descendant of the *ueruactum* of Cato and the writers on husbandry. *Wara*, on the other hand, is merely a Latinization of the Old English *waru*, fem., "defence, protection", which is used in Domesday to mean land in a village belonging to a distant manor. From the point of view of the manor such land might be considered as out-lands (*ūt-waru*, *ūt-land*), whilst in the village in which it lay it could be described as inland (*in-waru*, *in-land*) to such a manor. Both these terms, as well as the uncompounded *waru*, occur in the O.E.

[1] He admits this himself, at p. 251 above, where he asserts that the king's officers reduced the assessment of Wilburton of the *wara* lands by one-third. Yet, such is Mr. Pell's inconsistency, that the very same land, p. 249, is assumed to have had half deducted for *wara*. This is how he converts the 608½ acres 3 roods of the survey of 1277 into 864 acres.

charters. This connexion with the O.E. *waru*, which probably obtained in later times the meaning of "inclosure", just as *friδ*, "peace, defence", did, inclines me to believe that the *wareland* of the 13th century was arable land which was, as it were, "in defence" and not commonable when the crops were off it. This is precisely the opposite to the meaning given to *wara* by Mr. Pell.

W. H. Stevenson.

FAIRY BIRTHS AND HUMAN MIDWIVES.

A TALE, the scene of which is laid near Beddgelert, runs, as translated by Professor Rhys, in this way:—"Once on a time, when a midwife from Nanhwynan had newly got to the Hafodydd Brithion to pursue her calling, a gentleman came to the door on a fine grey steed and bade her come with him at once. Such was the authority with which he spoke, that the poor midwife durst not refuse to go, however much it was her duty to stay where she was. So she mounted behind him, and off they went, like the flight of a swallow, through Cwmllan, over the Bwlch, down Nant yr Aran, and over the Gadair to Cwm Hafod Ruffydd before the poor woman had time even to say Oh! When they got there, she saw before her a magnificent mansion, splendidly lit up with such lamps as she had never before seen. They entered the court, and a crowd of servants in expensive liveries came to meet them, and she was at once led through the great hall into a bed-chamber, the like of which she had never seen. There the mistress of the house, to whom she had been fetched, was awaiting her. She got through her duties successfully, and stayed there until the lady had completely recovered, nor had she spent any part of her life so merrily; there was naught but festivity day and night: dancing, singing, and endless rejoicing reigned there. But merry as it was, she found she must go, and the nobleman gave her a large purse, with the order not to open it until she had got into her own house; then he bade one of his servants escort her the same way she had come. When she reached home she opened the purse, and, to her great joy, it was full of money; and she lived happily on those earnings to the end of her life."[1]

It is a long leap from Carnarvonshire to Lapland, where this story is told with no great variation. A clergyman's wife in Swedish Lappmark, the cleverest midwife in all Sweden, was summoned one fine summer's evening to attend a mysterious being of Troll race and great might called Vitra. At this unusual call she took counsel with her husband, who, however, deemed it best for her to go. Her guide led her into a splendid building, the rooms

[1] *Y Cymmrodor*, v, 70, translated from *Y Brython*, iv, 251.

whereof were as clean and elegant as those of very illustrious folk; and in a beautiful bed lay a still more beautiful woman, for whom her services were required, and who was no other than Vitra herself. Under the midwife's care Vitra speedily gave birth to a fair girl, and in a few minutes had entirely recovered, and fetched all sorts of refreshments, which she laid before her benefactress. The latter refused to eat, in spite of Vitra's reassuring persuasion, and further refused the money which the Troll-wife pressed upon her. Vitra then sent her home, bidding her look on the table when next she entered her cowherd's hut and see what she would find there. She thought no more of the matter until the following spring, when on entering the hut she found on the table half a dozen large spoons of pure silver with her name engraved thereon in neat letters. These spoons long remained an heirloom in the clergyman's family to testify the truth of the story.[1] A Swedish book, published in 1775, contains a tale, narrated in the form of a legal declaration solemnly subscribed on the 12th April 1671 by the fortunate midwife's husband, whose name was Peter Rahm, and who also seems to have been a clergyman. On the authority of this declaration we are called on to believe that the event recorded actually happened in the year 1660. Peter Rahm alleges that he and his wife were at their farm one evening late when there came a little man, swart of face and clad in grey, who begged the declarant's wife to come and help his wife then in labour. The declarant, seeing that they had to do with a Troll, prayed over his wife, blessed her, and bade her in God's name go with the stranger. She seemed to be borne along by the wind. After her task was accomplished she, like the clergyman's wife just mentioned, refused the food offered her, and was borne home in the same manner as she had come. The next day she found on a shelf in the sitting-room a heap of old silver pieces and clippings, which it is to be supposed the Troll had brought her.[2]

Apart from the need of human aid, common to all the legends with which we are dealing, the two points emphasised by these Swedish tales are the midwife's refusal of food and the gratitude of the Troll. In a Swabian story the Earthman, as he is called, apologises for omitting to offer food. In this case the midwife was afraid to go alone with her summoner, and begged that her husband

[1] Poestion, *Lappländische Märchen*, 111.

[2] Grimm, *Teut. Mythology*, 457, *note*, quoting at length the declaration from Hülpher's *Samlingen om Jämtland*. A translation will be found in Keightley, *F. M.*, 122.

might accompany her. This was permitted; and the Earthman showed them the way through the forest with his lantern, for it was of course night. They came first to a moss door, then to a wooden door, and lastly to a door of shining metal, whence a staircase went down into the earth and led them into a large and splendid chamber where the Earthwife lay. When the object of their visit was accomplished the Earthman thanked the woman much, and said: "You do not relish our meat and drink, wherefore I will bestow something else upon thee." With these words he gave her a whole apronful of black coals, and taking his lantern again he lighted the midwife and her husband home. On the way home she slily threw away one coal after another. The Earthman said nothing until he was about to take his leave, when he observed merely: "The less you scattered the more you might have." After he had gone the woman's husband remonstrated with her, bidding her keep the coals, for the Earthman appeared in earnest with his gift. When they reached home, however, she shook out her apron on the hearth, and behold! instead of coals, glittering true gold pieces. The woman now sought eagerly enough after the coals she had thrown away, but she found them not.[1]

Confining our attention for the moment to the refusal of food, it would seem that the Earthman's apology in the foregoing narrative is, as too many human apologies are, a mere excuse. The real reason for the midwife's abstention was not that fairy food was distasteful, but that she durst not touch it, under penalty of never again returning to the light of day. A Danish tradition tells of a woman who was taken by an Elf on Christmas Eve down into the earth to attend his wife. As soon as the Elfwife was delivered her husband took the child away, for if he could find two newly married persons in the bridal bed, before they had repeated their Paternoster, he could, by laying the child between them, procure for it all the good fortune intended for the newly wedded pair. During his absence the Elfwife took the opportunity of instructing her helper as to her conduct when he returned; and the first and chief point of her advice was to eat nothing that was offered her. The Elfwife was herself a Christian woman who had been inveigled down into the dwellings of the Elves; she had eaten, and therefore had never escaped again. On the Elf's return, accordingly, the midwife refused food, and he said: "They did not strike thee on the mouth who taught thee that."[2] Late rabbinical writings contain a

[1] Meier, *Deutsche Sagen aus Schwaben*, i, 59.

[2] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, ii, 128, from Thiele's *Danmark's Folkesagn.*

similar legend of a Mohel, a man whose office it was to circumcise, who was summoned one winter's night by a stranger to perform the ceremony upon a child who would be eight days old the following day. The stranger led him to a lofty mountain, into the bowels of which they passed, and after descending many flights of steps found themselves in a great city. Here the Mohel was taken to a palace, in one of whose apartments was the child's mother lying. When she saw the Mohel she began to weep, and told him that he was in the land of the Mazikin, but that she was a human being, a Jewess, who had been carried away when little from home and brought hither. And she counselled him to take good heed to refuse everything whether of meat or drink that might be offered him: "For if thou taste anything of theirs thou wilt become like one of them, and wilt remain here for ever."[1]

We touch here upon a very ancient and widespread superstition, which we may pause to illustrate from different parts of the world. A Manx tale, which can be traced back to Waldron, narrates the night adventure of a farmer who lost his way in returning home from Peel, and was led by the sound of music into a large hall where were a great number of little people feasting. Among them were some faces he seemed to know; but he took no notice of them until the little folk offered him drink, when one of them, whose features seemed not unknown to him, plucked him by the coat and forbade him, whatever he did, to taste anything he saw before him; "for if you do," he added, "you will be as I am, and return no more to your family."[2] The Tchamaites, a Slavonic tribe on the borders of Russia and Prussia, relate that a midwife was once talking with her gossips concerning the devil and other articles of their belief, and she was bold enough to declare that she had no sort of fear of the devil or any uncanny being. While she was speaking a black cat ran by under the window; and the rash midwife clenched her boast by saying that if she were called even to that black cat she would go. In the night a knock came to the door, and a man, entering, summoned her to one of her own sex who was in need. When she asked to whom, she was told: "The black cat you saw to-day." She now knew that it was the devil whom she had to deal with; but she went, like a brave woman, notwithstanding, and found a woman of wonderful beauty, to whom she rendered the required help. The woman then said to her: "For the service thou hast rendered me I can return thee

[1] Keightley, *F. M.*, 506.

[2] Waldron, *Description of the Isle of Man*, 28.

another. I was once a human being too; but now I have fallen into the power of the devil. To preserve thyself from my fate, beware of accepting anything that may be offered to thee." The midwife took the hint, and refused either food or money, or even clothes, with which the devil offered to recompense her.[1]

It is necessary for the hero of a Picard story to go and seek the devil in his own abode. The devil of popular imagination, though a terrific ogre, is not the entirely Evil One of theologians; and one of his good points in the story referred to is that he has three fair daughters, the fairest of whom is compelled by the hero to help him in overcoming her father. She accordingly instructs him to eat no meat and to drink no wine at the devil's house, otherwise he will be poisoned.[2] This may remind us of Kan Püdäi, who in the Altaic ballad descends with his steed to the middle of the earth and encounters various monsters. There the grass and the water of the mountain forest through which he rode were poison.[3] In both cases, what is probably meant is, that to eat or drink is to return no more from these mysterious abodes; and it may be to the intent to obviate any such consequence that Saint Peter, in sending a certain king's son down through a black and stinking hole a hundred toises deep underground, in a Gascon tale, to fetch Saint Peter's own sword, provides him with just enough bread in his wallet every morning to prevent his bursting with hunger.[4] An extension of this thought sometimes even prohibits the hero from accepting a seat or a bed offered by way of hospitality on the part of the devil, or the sorceress, to whose dwelling his business may take him, or even to look at the fair temptress who may seek to entice him to eat.[5]

The meaning of the superstition is not easy to trace, but it should be remembered that in the lower stages of human civilisation no distinction is drawn between supernatural or spiritual beings who have never been enclosed in human bodies, and the spirits of the dead. Savage philosophy mingles them together in one phantasmagoria of grotesquery and horror. The line which separates fairies and ogres from the souls of men has gradually grown up through ages of Christian teaching; and, broad as it may seem to us, it is occasionally hardly visible in these stories.

[1] Veckestedt, *Mythen der Zamaiten*, ii, 70.
[2] *Mélusine*, i, 446.
[3] Radloff, *Proben*, i, 78.
[4] Bladé, *Contes pop. de la Gascogne*, i, 161.
[5] Cosquin, ii, 10; Cavallius, 281; *Revue des Trad. pop.*, iv, 222.

Every now and then it is ignored, as in the case of the old friends found among the "little people" by the Manx farmer. Less startling than these, but quite as much in point, are the women, like some already mentioned, who are carried off into Fairyland, where they become wives and mothers. They can never come back to their old life, though they retain enough of the "mortal mixture" to require the adventurous human midwife to relieve their pains. Accordingly, we need not be surprised if the same incidents of story or fibres of superstition attach at one time to ghosts and at another to the non-human creatures of imagination, or if Hades and Fairyland are often confounded. Both are equally the realm of the supernatural. We may therefore inquire whether eating is forbidden to the chance sojourner in the place of the dead equally as to the sojourner in Fairyland, if he wish to return to the upper air. And we shall find that it is.

Proserpine ate seven grains of a pomegranate which grew in the Elysian Fields, and so was compelled to remain in the shades, the wife of "the grisly king". Thus, too, when Morgan the Fay takes measures to get Ogier the Dane into her power she causes him to be shipwrecked on a loadstone rock near to Avalon. Escaping from the sea, he comes to an orchard, and there eats an apple which, it is not too much to say, seals his fate.[1] Again, when Thomas of Erceldoune is being led down by the Fairy Queen into her realm, he desires to eat of the fruit of certain trees.

> "He presed to pul the frute with his honde,
> As man for fode was nyhonde feynte;
> She seid, Thomas, lat them stande,
> Or ellis the fiend will the ateynte.
> If thou pulle the sothe to sey,
> Thi soule goeth to the fyre of hell;
> Hit cummes never out til domusday,
> But ther ever in payne to dwelle."[2]

An old story preserved for us by Saxo Grammaticus describes the visit of some Danish heroes to Guthmund, a giant who rules a delightful land beyond a certain river crossed by a golden bridge. Thorkill, their conductor, a Scandinavian Ulysses for cunning, warns his companions of the various temptations that will be set before them. They must forbear the food of the country, and be satisfied with that which they had brought with them; moreover, they must keep apart from the natives, taking care not so much as

[1] Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, i, 319.
[2] *Thomas of Erceldoune*, 11 (Cambridge text).

to touch them. In spite, however, of Thorkill's warnings to them, and his excuses in their behalf to the king, some of the heroes fell and were left behind when their friends were at last allowed to depart.[1] So far we see that the prohibition and the danger we found extant in the Fairyland of modern folk-tales applies also to the classic Hades; and we have traced it back a long way into the Middle Ages in French, British, and Danish traditions relating to fairies and other supernatural existences, with a special threat of Hell in the case of Thomas of Erceldoune.

On the other side of the globe the Banks' islanders believe, like the Greeks, in an underground kingdom of the dead, which they call Panoi. Only a few years ago a woman was living who professed to have been down there. Her object had been to visit her brother, who had recently died. To do this she perfumed herself with water in which a dead rat had been steeped, so as to give herself a death-like smell. She then pulled up a bird's nest and descended through the hole thus made. Her brother, whom of course she found, cautioned her to eat nothing, and by taking his advice she was able to return.[2] A similar tale is told of a New Zealand woman of rank, who was lucky enough to come back from the abode of departed spirits by the assistance of her father and his repeated commands to avoid tasting the disgusting food of the dead.[3] Wäinämöinen, the epic hero of the Finns, determined to penetrate to Manala, the region of the dead. We need not follow in detail his voyage; it will suffice to say that on his arrival, after a long parley with the maiden daughter of Tuoni, the king of the island, beer was brought to him in a two-eared tankard.

> "Wäinämöinen, old and steadfast,
> Gaz'd awhile upon the tankard;
> Lo! within it frogs were spawning,
> Worms about its sides were laying.
> Words in this wise then he utter'd:
> 'Not to drink have I come hither
> From the tankard of Manala,
> Not to empty Tuoni's beaker;
> They who drink of beer are drowned,
> Those who drain the can are ruin'd.'"[4]

The hero's concluding words might form a motto for our teetotallers; and in any case his abstinence enabled him to succeed

[1] Saxo, *Gesta Dan.*, l. viii. [2] *Journal of Anthrop. Inst.*, x, 282.
[3] Shortland, *Trad. and Superst. of the New Zealanders*, 150.
[4] *Kalewala*, rune xvi, l. 293.

in his errand and return. A point is made in the poem of the loathsome character of the beverage offered him, which thus agrees with the poison referred to in some of the narratives I have previously cited. The natives of the Southern Seas universally represent the sustenance of spirits as filthy and abominable. A most remarkable coincidence with the description of Tuoni's beer occurs in a curious story told on one of the Hervey Islands, concerning a Mangaian Dante. Being apparently near death, this man directed that, as soon as the breath was out of his body, a cocoa-nut should be cracked, and its kernel disengaged from the shell and placed upon his stomach under the grave-clothes. Having descended to the Shades, he beheld Miru, the horrible hag who rules them, and whose deformities need not now be detailed. She commanded him to draw near. "The trembling human spirit obeyed, and sat down before Miru. According to her unvarying practice she set for her intended victim a bowl of food, and bade him eat it quite up. Miru, with evident anxiety, waited to see him swallow it. As Tekanae took up the bowl, to his horror he found it to consist of living centipedes. The quick-witted mortal now recollected the cocoa-nut kernel at the pit of his stomach, and hidden from Miru's view by his clothes. With one hand he held the bowl to his lips, as if about to swallow its contents ; with the other he secretly held the cocoa-nut kernel, and ate it—the bowl concealing the nut from Miru. It was evident to the goddess that Tekanae was actually swallowing *something:* what else could it be but the contents of the fatal bowl? Tekanae craftily contrived whilst eating the nourishing cocoa-nut to allow the live centipedes to fall on the ground one or two at a time. As the intended victim was all the time sitting on the ground it was no difficult achievement in this way to empty the bowl completely by the time he had finished the cocoa-nut. Miru waited in vain to see her intended victim writhing in agony and raging with thirst. Her practice on such occasions was to direct the tortured victim-spirit to dive in a lake close by, to seek relief. None that dived into that water ever came up alive ; excessive anguish and quenchless thirst so distracting their thoughts that they were invariably drowned. Miru would afterwards cook and eat her victims at leisure. Here was a new event in her history : the bowl of living centipedes had been disposed of, and yet Tekanae manifested no sign of pain, no intention to leap into the cooling, but fatal, waters. Long did Miru wait ; but in vain. At last she said to her visitor, 'Return to the upper world' (*i.e.*, to life). 'Only remember this—

do not speak against me to mortals. Reveal not my ugly form and my mode of treating my visitors. Should you be so foolish as to do so, you will certainly at some future time come back to my domains, and I will see to it that you do not escape my vengeance a second time!' Tekanae accordingly left the shades, and came back to life"; but he, it is needless to say, carefully disregarded the hag's injunction, or we should not have had the foregoing veracious account of what happens below.[1]

The tortures reserved for Miru's victims cast a weird light on the warning in the Picard story against eating and drinking what the devil may offer. But whether poisoning in the latter case would have been the preliminary to a hearty meal to be made off the unlucky youth by his treacherous host, or no, it is impossible to determine. What the tales do suggest, however, is that the food buried with the dead by uncivilised tribes may be meant to provide them against the contingency of having to partake of the hospitality of the Shades, and so afford them a chance of escaping back to the upper air. But, putting this conjecture aside, we have found the supposition that to eat of fairy food is to return no more, equally applicable to the world of the dead as to fairyland. In seeking its meaning, therefore, we must not be satisfied without an explanation that will fit both. Almost all over the earth the rite of hospitality has been held to confer obligations on its recipient, and to unite him by special ties to the giver. And even where the notion of hospitality does not enter, to join in a common meal has often been held to symbolise, if not to constitute, union of a very sacred kind. The formation of blood relationship, or brotherhood, and formal adoption into a tribe or family (ceremonies well-known in the lower culture), are usually, if not always, cemented in this way. The modern wedding breakfast, with its bridecake, is a survival from a very ancient mode of solemnising the closest tie of all; and when Proserpine tasted a pomegranate she partook of a fruit of a specially symbolic character to signify acceptance of her new destiny as her captor's wife. Hence to partake of food in the land of spirits, whether they are human dead, or fairies, is to proclaim one's union with them and to renounce the fellowship of mortals.

The other point emphasised in the Swedish tales quoted just now is the Troll's gratitude, as evidenced by his gifts to the successful midwife. Before considering this, however, let us note that these supernatural beings do not like to be imposed upon. A

[1] Gill, *Myths and Songs*, 172.

German midwife who was summoned by a Waterman, or Nix, to aid a woman in labour, was told by the latter: "I am a Christian woman as well as you; and I was carried off by a Waterman, who changed me. When my husband comes in now and offers you money, take no more from him than you usually get, or else he will twist your neck. Take good care!"[1] And in another tale, told at Kemnitz of the Nicker, as he is there called, when he asks the midwife how much he owes her, she answers that she will take no more from him than from other people. "That's lucky for thee," he replies; "hadst thou demanded more, it would have gone ill with thee!" But for all that he gave her an apron full of gold and brought her safely home.[2]

A Pomeranian story marks the transition to a type of tale wherein one special characteristic of elfin gifts is presented. For in this case, when the mannikin asked the midwife what her charge was, she modestly replied: "Oh, nothing; the little trouble I have had does not call for any payment." "Now then, lift up thy apron!" answered he; and it was quickly filled with the rubbish that lay in the corner of the room. Taking his lantern, the elf then politely guided her home. When she shook out the contents of her apron, lo! it was no rubbish which fell on the ground, but pure, shining minted gold. Hitherto she and her father had been very poor; thenceforth they had no more want their whole lives long.[3] This gift of an object apparently worthless, which turns out, on the conditions being observed, of the utmost value, is a commonplace of fairy transactions. It is one of the most obvious manifestations of superhuman power; and as such it has always been a favourite incident in the stories of all nations. We have only to do here with the gift as it appears in the group under analysis, and in these cases it presents little variety. In a tale told on the lake of Zug the dwarf fills the woman's apron with something at which he bids her on no account look before she is in her own house. Her curiosity, however, is uncontrollable; and the moment the dwarf vanishes she peeps into her apron to find simply black coals. She, in a rage, flings them away, keeping only two as evidence of the shabby treatment she had met with; but when she got home these two were nothing less than precious stones. She at once ran back to where she had shaken out the supposed coals, but they were all gone.[4] So a recompense of

[1] Keightley, *F. M.*, 261. [2] Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, 93.
[3] Jahn, *Volkssagen aus Pommern*, 72.
[4] Keightley, *F. M.*, 275, quoting Müller, *Bilder und Sagen aus der Schweiz*, 119.

straws, dust, birch leaves, or shavings becomes, as elsewhere told, pure gold, pure silver, or thalers.[1]

Conversely, when the midwife is rewarded with that which seems valuable it turns out worthless. An Irishwoman, in relating a professional experience among the Good People, wound up her story as follows: "The king slipped five guineas into my hand as soon as I was on the ground, and thanked me, and bade me good-night. I hope I'll never see his face again. I got into bed, and couldn't sleep for a long time; and when I examined my five guineas this morning, that I left in the table-drawer the last thing, I found five withered leaves of oak—bad scran to the giver!"[2] This incident recalls the Barber's tale of his fourth brother in the *Arabian Nights*. This unlucky man went on selling meat to a sorcerer for five months and putting the bright new money in which the latter paid him into a box by itself, but when he came to open the box he found in it nothing but a parcel of leaves, or, as Sir Richard Burton has it, bits of white paper cut round to look like coin. Chinese folklore is full of similar occurrences, which we cannot now stay to discuss. But, returning to western traditions, there is a way of counteracting the elves' transforming magic. The wife of a farmer named Niels Hansen, of Uglerup, in Denmark, was summoned to attend a troll-wife, who told her that the troll, her husband, would offer her a quantity of gold; "but," she said, "unless you cast this knife behind you when you go out, it will be nothing but coal when you reach home." The woman followed her patient's advice, and so continued to carry safely home a costly present of gold.[3]

I considered the objection of certain supernatural beings to iron sometime ago in an article on "The Physicians of Myddfai", and its power of undoing their charms is well known. The good luck of Niels Hansen's wife offers another subject of interest; for it was due to her own kindness of heart. A short time before she had been raking hay in a field, when she caught a large and fat toad between the teeth of her rake. She gently released it, saying: "Poor thing! I see that thou needest help; I will help thee." That toad was the Troll-wife, and as she afterwards attended her she was

[1] Birlinger, *Volksthümliches*, i, 42; Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen*, 82; Thorpe, ii, 128; iii, 54, quoting Müllenhoff, *Sagen, etc., der Herzogthümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg*. Kuhn und Schwartz, 173; Wratislaw, *Sixty Folktales*, 40; Wenzig, 198.

[2] Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions*, 106.

[3] Thorpe, ii, 130, quoting Thiele, *Danmark's Folkesagn*.

horrified to see a hideous serpent hanging down just above her head. Her fright led to explanations and an expression of gratitude on the part of the Troll-wife. This incident is by no means uncommon; and generally the woman's terror is attributed to a millstone hanging over her head. A somewhat different turn is given to an Irish story. There a girl meets a frog which is painfully bloated, and kicks it unfeelingly aside, with the words: "May you never be delivered till I am midwife to you!" Now the frog was a water-fairy dwelling in a lake, into which the girl soon after was conveyed and compelled to become the fairy's midwife. By way of reward she is presented with a red cloak, which, on her way home, she hangs up in admiration on a tree. Well was it for her that she did so, for it set the tree on fire; and had she worn it, as she meant to do, on the following Sunday at Mass, the chapel itself would have been in a blaze.[1]

The fairies' revenge here missed its mark, though calculated on no trifling scale. Indeed, the rewards they bestowed were never nicely balanced with the good or ill they intended to requite, but were showered in open-handed fashion as by those who could afford to be lavish. Of this we have already had several instances; a few more may still be amusing. At Palermo a tale is told of a midwife who was one day cooking in her own kitchen when a hand appeared and a voice cried: "Give to me!" She took a plate and filled it from the food she was preparing. Presently the hand returned the plate full of golden money. This was repeated daily; and the woman, seeing the generous payment, became more and more free with her portions of food. At the end of nine months a knocking was heard at the door; and, descending, she found two giants, who caught her up on their shoulders and unceremoniously ran off with her. They carried her to a lady who needed her offices, and she assisted to bring into the world two fine boys. The lady evidently was fully alive to her own dignity, for she kept the woman a proper human month, to the distress of her husband, who, not knowing what had become of her, searched the city night and day, and at last gave her up for dead. Then the lady (a fairy princess she was) asked her if she wished to go, and whether she would be paid by blows or pinches. The poor midwife deemed her last hour was come, and said to herself that if she must die it would be better to die quickly; so she chose blows. Accordingly the princess called the two giants and sent her home with a large sack of money, which enabled her to relinquish business, set up her

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 7th Ser., v, 501.

carriage, and become one of the first ladies in Palermo. Ten years passed; and one day a grand carriage stopped at her door. A lady alighted and entered her palace. When she had her face to face the lady said: "Gossip, do you know me?" "No, madam." "What! do you not remember that I am the lady to whom you came ten years ago, when these children were born? I, too, am she who held out her hand and asked for food. I was the fairies' captive, and if you had not been generous enough to give me to eat, I should have died in the night. And because you were generous you have become rich. Now I am freed, and here I am with my sons." The quondam midwife, with tears in her eyes, looked at her and blessed the moment she had done a generous act. So they became lifelong friends.[1]

I have given the foregoing tale almost at full length because it has not, so far as I know, appeared before in any other than its native Sicilian dress, and because analogous stories are not common in collections from Mediterranean countries. This rarity is not, I need hardly say, from any absence of the mythological material, and perhaps it may be due to accident in the formation of the collections. If the story were really wanting elsewhere in southern Europe, we might be permitted the conjecture that its presence in Sicily was to be accounted for by the Norman settlements there. One such story, however, is recorded from the Island of Kimolos, one of the Cyclades, but without the human captivity in Elfland, without the acts of charity, and without the gratitude. The Nereids of the Kimoliote caves are of a grimmer humour than the kindly-natured underground folk of Celtic and Teutonic lands, or than the heroine of Palermo. The payment to their human help is no subject of jest to them. A woman whom they once called in was roundly told: "If it be a boy you shall be happy, but if it be a girl we will tear you in four parts and hang you in this cave." The unhappy midwife of course determined that it should be a boy, and when a girl arrived she made believe it was a boy, swaddled it up tightly, and went home. When, eight days afterwards, the child was unpacked, the Nereids' rage and disappointment were great; and they sent one of their number to knock at her door in the hope that she would answer the first summons. Now to answer the first summons of a Nereid meant

[1] Pitré, *Biblioteca*, v, 23. The story in its present form does not say that the human food enabled the lady to return from Fairyland, but only that it saved her life. Probably, however, an earlier version may have shown the incident in a more primitive form.

madness. Of this the woman was fully aware; and her cunning cheated them even of their revenge.[1]

Sometimes these supernatural beings bestow gifts of a more distinctly divine character than any of the foregoing. A midwife in Strathspey, on one such occasion, was desired to ask what she would, and it should be granted if in the power of the fairies. She asked that success might attend herself and her posterity in all similar operations. The gift was conferred, and her great-grandson still continued to exercise it when Mr. Stewart was collecting the materials for his work on the superstitions of the Highlanders, published in 1823.[2] In like manner the Mohel to whose adventure I have already referred, and who was originally an avaricious man, received the grace of benevolence to the poor, which caused him to live a long and happy life with his family, a pattern unto the whole world. The gift was symbolised by the restoration to him of his own bunch of keys, which he found with many others in the possession of his uncanny conductor. This personage had held the keys by virtue of his being lord over the hearts of those who never at any time do good: in other words, he was the demon of covetousness. Here we have an instance, more or less conscious, of the tendency, so marked in Jewish literature, to parable. But the form of the parable bears striking testimony to its origin in a myth common to many races. The keys in particular probably indicate that the recompense at one time took the shape of a palladium. This is not at all uncommon in the tales. The Countess Von Ranzau was once summoned from her castle of Breitenburg in Schleswig to the help of a dwarf-woman, and in return received, according to one account, a large piece of gold to be made into fifty counters, a herring and two spindles, upon the preservation of which the fortunes of the family were to depend. The gifts are variously stated in different versions of the tale, but all the versions agree in attaching to them blessings in the noble house of Ranzau so long as they were kept in the family.[3] The Frau Von Hahnen, in a Bohemian legend, receives for her services to a water-nix three pieces of gold, with the injunction to take care of them and never to let them go out of the hands of her own lineage, else the whole family would fall into poverty. She bequeathed the treasures to her three sons; but the youngest son took a wife who with a light heart gave the fairy gold away.

[1] Bent, *The Cyclades*, 46.

[2] Keightley, *F. M.*, 388, citing Stewart.

[3] Thorpe, *op. cit.*, iii, 50 *et seq.*, quoting Müllenhoff and Thiele.

Misery of course resulted from her folly, and the race of Hahnen speedily came to an end.[1]

It is quite possible that the spoons bestowed by Vitra upon the clergyman's wife in Lappmark were once reputed to be the subject of a similar proviso. So common, forsooth, was the stipulation, that in one way or other it was annexed to well-nigh all fairy gifts: they brought luck to their possessor for the time being. Examples of this are endless: one only will content us in this connection; and, like Vitra's gift, we shall find it in Swedish Lappmark. A peasant who had one day been unlucky at the chase, was returning disgusted, when he met a fine gentleman who begged him to come and cure his wife. The peasant protested in vain that he was no doctor. The other would take no denial, insisting that it was no matter, for if he would only put his hands upon the lady she would be healed. Accordingly the stranger led him to the very top of a mountain where was perched a castle he had never seen before. On entering it he found the walls were mirrors, the roof overhead of silver, the carpets of gold-embroidered silk, and the furniture of the purest gold and jewels. The stranger took him into a room where lay the loveliest of princesses on a golden bed, screaming with pain. As soon as she saw the peasant she begged him to come and put his hands upon her. Almost stupified with astonishment he hesitated to lay his coarse hands upon so fair a dame. But at length he yielded; and in a moment her pain ceased, and she was made whole. She stood up and thanked him, begging him to tarry awhile and eat with them. This, however, he declined to do, for he feared that if he tasted the food which was offered him he must remain there. The stranger whom he had followed then took a leathern purse, filled it with small round pieces of wood, and gave it to the peasant with these words: "So long as thou art in possession of this purse money will never fail thee. But if thou shouldst ever see me again, beware of speaking to me; for if thou speak thy luck will depart." When the man got home he found the purse filled with dollars; and by virtue of its magical property he became the richest man in the parish. As soon as he found the purse always full, whatever he took out of it, he began to live in a spendthrift manner and frequented the ale-house. One evening as he sat there he beheld the stranger with a bottle in his hand going round and gathering the drops which the guests shook from time to time out of their glasses. The rich peasant was surprised that one who had given him so much did not

[1] Grohmann, *Sagen aus Böhmen*, 145. See also Thorpe, *op. cit.*, iii, 51.

seem able to buy himself a single dram, but was reduced to this means of getting a drink. Thereupon he went up to him and said: "Thou hast shown me more kindness than any other man ever did, and I will willingly treat thee to a little." The words were scarce out of his mouth when he received such a blow on his head that he fell stunned to the ground; and when again he came to himself the stranger and his purse were both gone. From that day forward he became poorer and poorer, until he was reduced to absolute beggary.[1]

This story exemplifies every point that has interested us in this discussion: the need of the Trolls for human help, the refusal of food, fairy gratitude, and the conditions involved in the acceptance of supernatural gifts. It mentions one further characteristic of fairy nature—the objection to be recognised and addressed by men who are privileged to see them. But the consideration of this must be left to another occasion.

[1] Poestion, *op. cit.*, 119.

E. Sidney Hartland.

LOT MEADS AND COMMONABLE LANDS.

IT was an established principle of early communities that the state or community should take possession of a certain tract, proportioned in extent to the number of its inhabitants, and divide it *by Lot* to the several occupiers, according to their rank or station; a sufficient quantity being reserved and appropriated as the common property of the township. Hence we find, in different parts of England, certain meadows and pastures known as *Lot Meads*, which, by mutual agreement, as in the case of the common-field lands, those who had rights shut up or stinted, and in some cases enclosed, such parts of these pastures as were most suitable for hay; dividing them into certain specific quantities either by land-marks or *by Lot*, for mowing, and allowing the common herd of cattle to feed there again as soon as the hay was carried off, till it was time to lay them up for a new crop, and this was the origin of the common meadows. These mutual agreements, originally founded in necessity, became, when approved by the lord of the manor, and observed for a length of time by the tenants, what are called "custom of manors", constituting the very essence of the Court Baron, or manorial court, by which both lord and tenants were bound; and of which, though the lord or his steward was the judge, the tenants were the jury, the custom of the manor equally binding both.

By the kind permission of Major Thoyts, lord of the manor of Sulhampstead-Abbots, near Reading, I am enabled to examine a plan, with the original *Lotting Books* relating to the *Lot Mead* in that parish, showing that this early system was combined in this village so late as the latter part of the last century; and in this respect I believe of almost unique interest and importance as an example of the survival of the early system of agricultural holdings.

The Lot Mead at Sulhampstead-Abbots, where the system was applied, consisted of two open fields adjacent to the river Kennet, divided by a water-course or cut, and comprised about 56½ acres separated by borders of turf. In Sheffield Field up to a very late date there were a number of small pieces of land be-

longing to different owners, only divided by "mere banks", low ridges of turf, with 80 strips or lots of 2 roods 33 poles each—four tens or 40 strips in the south mead, and the same number in the north mead, abutting on the river Kennet.

The soil of the land appears to have belonged to several proprietors who had freehold or copyhold property in the parish; and every five years it was re-allotted, and so continued "changing for ever", as recorded in the title of one of the Lotting Books; the tenants of the landowners holding portions in different parts of the Lot Mead in respect to the farms occupied by them, and to which such right was attached.

It will be noticed that the Corporation of Reading held 11 lots in Lot Mead as freeholders; and the "Abbot de Beere" also occurs as a proprietor, a name which is rather perplexing in this form in the 18th century. But as "Esquire Breedon", who resided at "Bere Court", Pangbourne, is mentioned as the owner of 13 lots in the Lot Mead, and as this property formerly belonged to Reading Abbey, we have here a possible explanation. The lord of the manor, John Thoyts, Esq., had $14\frac{3}{4}$ lots in Lot Mead, on an average one year with another containing 10 acres 1 rood 27 poles, besides 1 acre, 0 rood, 14 poles in the north Lot Mead by the river. To Warn's farm 3 lots were attached; to Field's farm, 10 lots; to Whitaker's farm, 8 lots; Christopher Griffith, Esq., of Padworth, $\frac{3}{4}$ lot; ... Jones, Esq., of Ufton Court, 1 lot; Paulet Wright, Esq., of Englefield, 8 lots; the Rector of Sulhampstead, 1 lot; Brazenhead farm, $3\frac{1}{2}$ lots; Farmer Whitaker in respect to "his own parcel of land", 1 lot; William Thoyts, Esq., $3\frac{1}{2}$ lots, besides a piece by the river in north Lot Mead.

There were also certain lands called "The Four-Doles", adjoining the Lot Mead, containing 3 acres 1 rood, which came round in a certain rotation to the landowners and copyholders.

In addition to the Lot Mead there were extensive common fields of arable land belonging to the parish on the north side of the Kennet, containing $171\frac{3}{4}$ reputed acres and 156 acres, 2 roods, 1 pole according to actual measurement.

Among the field names we find "Long Vear", "Lower Vear", "Velder Vear", "Upper Vear", "John Pottinger's Vear", etc. The term "vear" signifies so many furrows, or, what is known as "A Land", dividing a ploughed field into so many divisions about $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards wide, but varying according to the character of the soil. The ploughmen still call the stick they set up to mark their first furrow "a veering stick", and the term "vear" as above

explained would correspond with the ancient principle of a certain number of furrows being allotted to each tenant or occupier. "A Vear shooting to the road" is also denoted, which seems to imply a field tending towards the highway. We also find "The Butts", and "A Short Butt", which signifies the ends of ploughed lands, which lie in ridges and furrows, and not, in this case, as a place on which a mark to be shot at is placed. "Copid Cross" also occurs, which probably denotes the site of a boundary stone in the form of a "Couped Cross" which it was usual to set up on monastic properties; and the explanation receives some support from the fact that the Abbey of Reading was the owner of this manor.

The parishes of Sulhampstead, Beenham, Padworth, and Ufton enjoyed the right, or at least were in the practice of intercommoning with each other over a tract of land commencing at the forty-ninth milestone on the Bath and London road, and extending to the forty-sixth milestone, an extent of three miles, and containing nearly 2,000 acres of land.

The Lot Mead and Common Fields in the parish of Sulhampstead-Abbots were enclosed by Act of Parliament about the year 1811. At this time a number of exchanges of land were made and noted in the award in order to consolidate the lands of each owner.

The Lotting booke for Wide Mead.

The ffirst year. The first Tenns, 1713.

1. Abbas de Beer.
2. John King & Tenner now Moatehouse & John Wickence.
3. John Banister, Widdow Wilder now Jno. Bennet.
4. Richard Staniford.
5. James Attlee.
6. John Parr & John Wickence.
7. Mr. Bostocke, Cherington, John Parr.
8. Johannes Englefeild, Mr. Bostocke, Brimmer.
9. Tho. Parker & attlee.
10. Richard Lane now = Brightwell.

The Second Tenns.

1. Wm. Legge now Tho. Herbert.
2. John Underwood & Bushnell.
3. Englefeild Place, John Holloway, Cherrington.
4. Roger Curtis now Peter Wickence.
5. Mr. Maynard.
6. Jno. Wickence & Moathouse.
7. Corporation, Reading.
8. Jno. Wickence & Jno. Parr.
9. Abbas de Beer.
10. Wife Brooke, Sturt, Goode.

The Third Tenns.

1. Pottenger.
2. Reynold Jennings, Coles.
3. Abbas de Beer.
4. Corporation, Reading.
5. Mr. Watts, Mr. Drake.
6. Moathouse & Wickence.
7. Corporation, Reading.
8. Parr & Wickence.
9. Corporation, Reading.
10. Abbas De Beer.

The ffourth Tenns.

1. Joth. Russell, Jno. Coles now Bastian.
2. Hugh Polampton, Hewson.
3. Moathouse.

4. King & Farmer, Moathouse & Wickence.
5. Abbas de Beer.
6. Knapp, Wickence.
7. Isaac Parr.
8. Abbas De Beer.
9. Abbas De Beer.
10. Wickence & Caue, parr, & Wickence.

The other ffurlong that shoots upon the Kennet, beginning under Midlams hedge and going backward to Hawkam Bridge.

The ffirst Tenns.

1. Jno. Parr & Jno. Wickence.
2. Abbas de Beer.
3. Nich. Pottenger.
4. Corporation, Reading.
5. Joan Heath, Jno. Parr.
6. Wickens & Moathouse.
7. Mr. Watts, Mr. Drake.
8. Jno. Rotor, Jno. Coles now Bastian.
9. Knapp now Wickence.
10. Bushnell & Morland.

The Second Tenns.

1. Isaac Parr.
2. Rector de Sulhamstead, Banister.
3. Corporation, Reading.
4. Englefeild Place, Jno. Holloway, Cherington.
5. Jno. Wickins & Moathouse.
6. Abbas de Beer.
7. John Parr & John Wickence.
8. Corporation, Reading.
9. Knapp now Wickence.
10. Moathouse.

The Third Tenns.

1. Jno. Wickence & Jno. Parr.
2. Jno. Coles, Bastian, Sturt & Goode.
3. Joan Heth, John Parr.
4. Corporation de Reading.
5. Jno. Wickence & Moathouse.
6. Abbas de Beere.
7. Corporation de Reading.
8. Englefeild Place, Jno. Holloway, Cherington.
9. Reynold Jennings, John Coles.
10. Corporation de Reading.

The ffourth Tenns.

1. Abbas de Beere.
2. Reynold Jennings, Jno. Coles.
3. Broughton's now Jno. Parr.
4. Moathouse.
5. Polhamton, Taylor, Houson.
6. Jno. Coles now Bastian.
7. Jno. Wickens & Moathouse.
8. Abbas de Beere.
9. Wickence & caue, Jno. Parr, Jno. Wickence.
10. Abbas de Beere.

The Second year. The ffirst Tenns, 1714.

1. Wickence & Moathouse.
2. Mr. Attlee.
3. Underwood, Bushnell.
4. Corporation de Reading.
5. Wickence & parr.
6. Corporation de Reading.
7. Roger Curtiss now Peter Wickence.
8. Abbas de Beere.
9. Johannes de Englefeild, Blunden, Bostock, Brimmer.
10. Parker & Attlee.

The Second Tenns. Three Yards.

1. Hugh Sawcer or Moathouse & Jno. Wickence.
2. Richard Staniford.
3. Wickence, Cave, now Jno. Parr & Jno. Wickence.
4. Abbas de Beere.
5. Underwood, Lane Bushnell.
6. Tho. Herbert now Wm. Mitchell.
7. Jno. Prior, Tho. Sturte now Goode.
8. Englefeild Farme, Cherington.
9. Broughton now Jno. Parr.
10. Hugh Sawcer, Maynard.

The Third Tenns.

1. Jno. Underwood, Rich. Daviss, Knapp, Wickence.
2. Pottenger.
3. Hugh Polhamton, Howson.
4. Corporation de Reading.
5. Wickence and Parr.
6. Abbas de Berre.
7. Wickence, Sawcer.
8. Corporation de Reading.
9. Abbas de Beere.
10. Abbas de Beere.

The ffourth Tenns.

1. Wickence & Caue, Parr & Wickence.
2. Abbas de Beere.
3. Abbas de Beere.
4. Shepherd, Isaac Parr.
5. Corporation de Reading.
6. Moathouse.
7. Reynold Jennings, John Coles.

8. Jno. Bastian.
9. Sawcer & Wickence.
10. Johannes de Englefeild, Mr. Snelling, Drake.

The other ffurlong shooting upon the Kennet, beginning under Midlams hedge, So going back to Hawkham Bridge.

The ffirst Tenns.

1. Abbas de Beere.
2. Corporation de Reading.
3. Knapp & Wickence.
4. Wickence & Cave now Jno. Parr & Jno. Wickence.
5. Corporation de Reading.
6. Nich. Pottenger.
7. Abbas de Beere.
8. Bushnell & Morland.
9. John Coles, Bastian.
10. Hugh Sawcer, John Wickence.

The Second Tenns.

1. Abbas de Beere.
2. Shepherd now Isaac Parr.
3. Rector Exclesiæ de Sulhamsted, Banister.
4. Moathouse.
5. Knapp now Wickence.
6. John Wickence & Hugh Sawcer.
7. Englfeild ffarme, Cherington.
8. John Wickence & John Parr.
9. Hugh Polhamton, Howson.
10. Broughton now John Parr.

The Third Tenns.

1. Abbas de Beere.
2. Corporation de Reading.
3. Corporation de Reading.
4. Bastian, Sturte, Goode.
5. Corporation de Reading.
6. Reynold Jennings, John Coles.
7. Englefeild ffarme, Cherington.
8. Wickence & Cave, John Parr, Jno. Wickence.
9. Corporation de Reading.
10. John Wickence & Hugh Sawcer.

The ffourth Tenns.

1. Reynold Jennings, John Coles.
2. John Wickence, John Sawcer.
3. Abbas de Beere.
4. Abbas de Beere.
5. Moathouse.
6. Broughtons now John Parr.
7. John Coles now Bastian.
8. Joan Heth now Jno. Parr.
9. Johannes de Englefeild, Snelling, Drake.
10. John Wickence & Jno. Parr.

The Third year, the ffirst Tenns, 1715.

1. Moathouse.
2. Bushnell & Morland.
3. Tho. Parker & Attlee.
4. John Parr & John Wickence.
5. Mr. Attlee.
6. Moathouse & Wickence.
7. Corporation de Reading.
8. Johannes de Englefeild, Bostocke, Brimmer.
9. Abbas de Beere.
10. Roger Curtiss now Peter Wickence.

The Second Tenns. Three yards.

1. Reynold Brooke now Maynard.
2. Sturt now Good & John Brooke.
3. Corporation de Reading.
4. Rich. Lane now Brightwell.
5. Tho. Herbert now Mitchell.
6. John Wickence & Moathouse.
7. Englefeild ffarme, Cherington.
8. Jno. Wickence & John Parr.
9. Abbas de Beere.
10. Broughton now John Parr.

The Third Tenns.

1. Corporation de Reading.
2. Jno. Parr & Jno. Wickence.
3. Abbas de Beere.
4. Jno. Wickence & Moathouse.
5. Snelling, Watts, Drake.
6. Abbas de Beere.
7. Corporation de Reading.
8. Nich. Pottenger.
9. Hore, Stare, Polhamton.
10. Reynold Jennings, Jno. Coles.

The ffourth Tenns.

1. Shepherd now Isaac Parr.
2. Jno. Cave now John Parr.
3. Abbas de Beere.
4. Jno. Wickence & Jno. Parr.
5. Jno. Bastian.
6. Abbas de Beere.
7. Abbas de Beere.
8. John Wickence & Moathouse.
9. Ployden, Richd. Staniford.
10. Knapp now Jno. Wickence.

In the other furlong shooting upon the Kennet, beginning under Midlams hedge and going backward to Hawkham bridge. The ffirst Tenns.

1. Jno. Wickings & Jno Parr.

2. Bushneil & Underwood.
3. Knapp now Wickings.
4. Watts now Drake.
5. Broughtons now Parr.
6. Jno. Bastian.
7. Jno. Wickins & Moathouse.
8. Nich. Pottenger.
9. Polhamton, Houson.
10. Abbas de Beere.

The Second Tenns.

1. Corporation de Reading.
2. Moathouse & Jno. Wickins.
3. Rector de Sulhamstead, Banister.
4. Abbas de Beere.
5. Jno. Parr & Jno. Wickins.
6. Englefeild ffarme, Cherington.
7. Knapp now Wickins.
8. Corporation de Reading.
9. Shepherd now Isaac Parr.
10. Moathouse.

The Third Tenns.

1. John Wickins & Jno. Parr.
2. Corporation de Reading.
3. Reynold Jennings now Jno. Coles.
4. Abbas de Beer.
5. John Wickins & Moathouse.
6. Englefeild ffarme, Cherington.
7. Corporation de Reading.
8. Corporation de Reading.
9. Corporation de Reading.
10. Corporation de Reading.

The ffourth Tenns.

1. John Parr & John Wickins.
2. Moathouse.
3. Moathouse & John Wickins.
4. Reynold Jennings, Jno. Coles.
5. Abbas de Beere.
6. Jno. Coles, Bastian.
7. Sturte now Goode, & Bastian.
8. Abbas de Beere.
9. Jno. Caue now Jno. Parr.
10. Abbas de Beer.

The Fourth year, ye ffirst Tenns, 1716.

1. Mr. Attlee.
2. Jno. Cave now Jno. Parr.
3. Parker & Attlee.
4. Bostocke, Jno. Brimmer.
5. Jno. Wickins & Moathouse.
6. Corporation de Reading.
7. Wickins & Parr.
8. Abbas de Beere.
9. Lane now Brightwell.
10. Staniford.

The Second Tenns. Three yards.

1. Moathouse.
2. Mr. Maynard.
3. Lane now Brightwell & Morland.
4. Englefeild ffarme, Cherington.
5. Roger Curtiss now Peter Wickins.
6. Tho. Herbert.
7. Wickins & Moathouse.
8. Abbas de Beere.
9. Brooke & Sturte now Goode.
10. Wickins & Parr.

The Third Tenns.

1. Corporation de Reading.
2. Wickins & Moathouse.
3. Watts now Drake.
4. John Caue now Parr.
5. Abbas de Beere.
6. Knapp now Wickins.
7. Hoare, Stare, Polhamton.
8. Wickins & Parr.
9. Corporation de Reading.
10. Abbas de Beere.

The ffourth Tenns.

1. Reynold Jennings now John Coles.
2. Wickins & Parr.
3. Corporation de Reading.
4. Wickins & Moathouse.
5. Abbas de Beere.
6. Abbas de Beere.
7. Nich. Pottenger.
8. Shepherd, Isaac Parr.
9. Jno. Bastian.
10. Abbas de Beere.

The other furlong shooting upon the Kennet, beginning under Midlams hedge & going back to Hawkham Bridge.

The ffirst Tenns.

1. Nich. Pottenger.
2. Knapp now Wickins.
3. Abbas de Beere.
4. Wickins & Parr.
5. Coles now Bastian.
6. Corporation de Reading.
7. Watts now Drake.
8. Wickins & Moathouse.
9. Polhamton now Houson.
10. Bushnell & Morland.

The Second Tenns.

1. Wickence & Moathouse.
2. Rector de Sulhamstead Banister.
3. Corporation de Reading.
4. Corporation de Reading.
5. Knapp now Wickins

6. Abbas de Beere.
7. Shepherd now Isaac Parr.
8. Abbas de Beere.
9. Wickins & Parr.
10. Moathouse.

The Third Tenns.

1. Broughton now Parr.
2. Wickins & Parr.
3. Corporation de Reading.
4. Broughton now Parr.
5. Wickins & Moathouse.
6. Corporation de Reading.
7. Jno. Coles now Bastian, & Sturte now Goode.
8. Englefeild ffarme, Cherington.
9. Reynold Jennings, John Coale.
10. Abbas de Beere.

The Fourth Tenns.

1. Coles now Bastian.
2. Abbas de Beere.
3. Abbas de Beere.
4. Corporation de Reading.
5. Wickins & Moathouse.
6. Corporation de Reading.
7. Wickins & Parr.
8. Moathouse.
9. Reynold Jennings, Jno. Coles.
10. Englefeild ffarme, Cherington.

The Fifth year. The ffirst Tenns, 1717.

1. Parker & Attlee.
2. Roger Curtiss now Peter Wickins.
3. Mr. Attlee.
4. Bostock Brimer, Englefeild Place.
5. Corporation de Reading.
6. Sawcer & Wickins.
7. Corporation de Reading.
8. Parr & Wickins.
9. Abbas de Beere.
10. Lane now Ssimes, Morland.

The Second Tenns. Three yards.

1. Staniford.
2. Lane now Brightwell.
3. Englefeild place, Cherington.
4. Caue now Parr.
5. Tho. Herbert now Mitchell.
6. Sawcer & Wickins.
7. Mr. Maynard.
8. Brooks, Sturte now Goode.
9. Abbas de Beere.
10. Parr & Wickins.

The Third Tenns.

1. Moathouse.
2. Sawcer & Wickins.
3. Watts now Drake.
4. Corporation de Reading.
5. Abbas de Beere.
6. Nich. Pottenger.
7. Stare & Wm. Polhamton.
8. Parr & Wickins.
9. Corporation de Reading.
10. Abbas de Beere.

The Fourth Tenns.

1. Reynold Jennings, John Coles.
2. Caue now Parr.
3. John Bastian.
4. Abbas de Beere.
5. Shepherd now Isaac Parr.
6. Pole, David, Rice, Knapp, Wickins.
7. Abbas de Beere.
8. Sawcer & Wickins.
9. Abbas de Beere.
10. Parr, & Wickins.

The other furlong shooting upon the Kennet, beginning under Midlams hedge and going back towards Hawkans Bridge. The First Tenns.

1. Polhamton now Hawson.
2. Bushnell, & Morland.
3. Jno. Sawcer, & Wickins.
4. Watts now Drake.
5. Pole, David, Rice, Knapp, Wickins.
6. Corporation de Reading.
7. Caue now Parr.
8. Coles now Bastian.
9. Jno. Parr, & Jno. Wickins.
10. Abbas de Beere.

The Second Tenns.

1. Sawcer, & Wickins.
2. Nich. Pottenger.
3. Rector de Sulhamstead, Banister.
4. Corporation de Reading.
5. David, Rice, Knapp now Wickins.
6. Abbas de Beere.
7. Shepherd now Isaac Parr.
8. Abbas de Beere.
9. Jno. Parr, & Jno. Wickins.
10. Moathouse.

The Third Tenns.

1. Corporation de Reading.
2. Jno. Sawcer, & Jno. Wickins.
3. Bastian, & Sturte now Goode.
4. Corporation de Reading.
5. Jno. Parr, & Jno. Wickins.
6. Corporation de Reading.
7. Corporation de Reading.
8. Englefeild Place now Cherington.
9. Reynold Jennings, John Coles.
10. Abbas de Beere.

The Fourth Tenns.

1. Jno. Coles now Bastian.
2. Abbas de Beere.
3. Abbas de Beere.
4. Corporation de Reading.
5. Jno. Sawcer, & Jno. Wickins.
6. Reynold, Jennings, Jno. Coles.
7. Jno. Parr, & Jno. Wickins.
8. Moat house.
9. Jno. Parr for Broughton's.
10. Englefeild Place, Cherington.

Wide Mead Lotting Book For 5 Years.

When Each Lot Returns and is the same as it was the Five Years Before And so Continue Changing For Ever.

1778.

The first year. The first Tens Beginning at Hawkham-bridge, 1778.

1. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
2. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
4. Widow Cook.
 Mr. Warden, Ocpr.
5. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocpr.
6. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
7. W. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
8. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
9. Mr. Wright & Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
10. Mrs. Brightwell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.

Second Tens.

1. Lawrance Clark.
 Farmer Welsh, Ocpr.
2. Mr. May & Vines.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. Lawrance Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
4. John Webb.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
5. Mr. Berrington.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
6. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
7. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
8. Widow Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
9. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. Mrs. Berrington & Mr. Powell.
 Farmer Whitaker & Mr. Morgan, partin Lot.

Third Tens.

1. Mr. Pottenger.
 Farmer Streek, Ocpr.
2. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
5. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocpr.
6. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
7. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
8. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
9. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

Fourth Tens.

1. Mrs. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
2. Fisher & Knight.
 Mr. Warden, Ocpr.
3. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
4. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
5. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
6. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.
7. Isaac Parr.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
8. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
9. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. Widow Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.

The first Tens Going back from Middleham hedge.

1. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
2. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Mr. Pottenger.
 Farmer Streek, Ocpr.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
5. Widow Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.

6. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
7. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Occpr.
8. Mrs. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Occpr.
9. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Occpr.
10. Mr. May & Fines.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.

Second Tens.

1. Isasc Parr.
 Farmer Field, Occpr.
2. Dr. Richardson, Rectr.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
3. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Occpr.
4. Mr. Wright.
 Farmer Hanson, Occpr.
5. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.
6. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
7. Widow Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Occpr.
8. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Occpr.
9. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Occpr.
10. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.

Third Tens.

1. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
2. Mrs. Bastin & Mrs. Bennington.
 Farmer Wickens & FarmerWhitaker, partin Lot.
3. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Occpr.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Occpr.
5. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
6. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
7. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Occpr.
8. Mr. Wright.
 Farmer Hanson, Occpr.
9. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.
10. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Occpr.

Fourth Tens.

1. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
2. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.
3. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Occpr.
4. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.
5. Mr. Brightwell.
 Farmer Curier & Mr. Morgan, 2 Swaths.[1]
6. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Occpr.
7. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.
8. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
9. Widw. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Occpr.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.

The Second Year. The first Tens Beginning at Hawkhm. bridge, 1779.

1. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.
2. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Occpr.
3. Mr. May & Vines.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Occpr.
5. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Occpr.
6. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Occpr.
7. John Webb.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.
8. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
9. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Occpr.
10. Mr. Wright & Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Occpr.

Second Tens.

1. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
2. Widow Cook.
 Mr. Warden, Occpr.
3. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.
4. Abbots d'Bear.
5. Mrs. Brightwell.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.
6. Lawrance Clark.
 Farmer Welsh, Occpr.
7. Mrs. Bennington & Mr. Powell.
 Farmer Whitaker, Mr. Morgan partin Lot.
8. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Occpr.
9. Widow Webb.
 Farmer Field, Occpr.
10. Mr. Berrington.
 Mr. Morgan, Occpr.

Third Tens.

1. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Occpr.
2. Mr. Pottenger.
 Farmer Streek, Occpr.
3. Fisher & Knight.
 Mr. Warden, Occpr.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Occpr.
5. W. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Occpr.
6. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Occpr.

[1] *Swath.* Grass as laid in rows by the mower from the scythe, or the width of one cut.

7. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
8. Townland
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
9. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

Fourth Tens.

1. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
2. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
4. Isaac Parr.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
5. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
6. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
7. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan.
8. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
9. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocpr.

The First Tens Going back From Middlehams.

1. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker Ocpr.
2. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
3. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce.
4. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
5. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
6. Mr. Pottenger.
 Farmer Streek, Ocpr.
7. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
8. Mr. May & Vines.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
9. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens. Ocpr.
10. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.

Second Tens.

1. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
2. Isaac Parr.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
3. Docr. Richardson, Rectr.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
4. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
5. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.
6. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
7. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
8. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
9. Mr. Brightwell.
 Farmer Curier, Mr. Morgan, 2 Swaths.
10. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.

Third Tens.

1. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
2. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocp.
3. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
4. Mr. Bastin & Mrs. Berrington.
 Farmer Whitaker & Farmer Wickens, part in Lot.
5. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
6. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
7. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
8. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
9. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
10. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocp.

Fourth Tens.

1. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
2. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
4. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
5. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
6. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
7. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
8. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr
9. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocp.
10. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

The Third Year. The first Tens Beginning at Hawk-ham Bridge.

1. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
2. May & Vines.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. Mr. Wright & Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
4. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
5. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark.
6. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

7. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
8. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
9. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. John Webb.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.

Second Tens.

1. Mr. Berrington.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
2. Mrs. Berrington & Mr. Powell.
 Farmer Whitaker & Mr. Morgan, partin Lot.
3. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
4. Mrs. Brightwell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
5. Lawrance Clark.
 Farmer Welsh, Ocpr.
6. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
7. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
8. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
9. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.

Third Tens.

1. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
2. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
4. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
5. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocpr.
6. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
7. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
8. Mr. Pottenger.
 Farmer Streek, Ocpr.
9. Fisher & Knight.
 Mr. Warden, Ocpr.
10. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.

Fourth Tens.

1. Isaac Parr.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
2. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
3. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocp
4. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
5. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
6. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocp
7. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
8. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
9. Widw. Cook.
 Mr. Warden, Ocpr.
10. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.

The First Tens Going back From Middlehams.

1. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
2. Mr. May & Vines.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.
4. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocpr.
5. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
6. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
7. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
8. Mr. Pottenger.
 Farmer Streek, Ocpr.
9. Mr. Brightwell.
 Farmer Curier, Mr. Morgan, 2 Swaths.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

Second Tens.

1. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
2. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. Docr. Richardson, Rectr.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
4. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
5. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
6. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
7. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.
8. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
9. Isaac Parr.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
10. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.

Third Tens.

1. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
2. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
3. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
4. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
5. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
6. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.

7. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens.
8. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
9. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
10. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.

Fourth Tens.

1. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
2. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
4. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
5. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
6. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
7. Mr. Bastin & Mrs. Bennington.
 Farmer Whitaker & Farmer Wickens, partin Lot.
8. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
9. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

The Fourth Year. The first Tens Beginning at Hawk-ham Bridge.

1. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clerk.
2. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
3. Mr. Wright & Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
4. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
5. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
6. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
7. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
8. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
9. Mrs. Brightwell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
10. Widw. Cook.
 Mr. Warden, Ocpr.

Second Tens.

1. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
2. Mr. Berrington.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. Mr. May & Vines.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
4. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
5. John Webb.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
6. Lawrance Clark.
 Farmer Welsh, Ocpr.
7. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
8. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
9. Mrs. Berrington & Mr. Powell.
 Farmer Whitaker & Mr. Morgan, part in Lot.
10. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

Third Tens.

1. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
2. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocpr.
4. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
5. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
6. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.
7. Fisher & Knight.
 Mr. Warden, Ocpr.
8. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
9. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

Fourth Tens.

1. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
2. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
4. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
5. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
6. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
7. Mr. Pottenger.
 Farmer Streek, Ocpr.
8. Isaac Parr.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
9. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

The first Tens Going back From Middlehams.

1. Mr. Pottinger.
 Farmer Streek, Ocpr.
2. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.
3. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker.
4. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
5. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
6. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.

7. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocpr.
8. Moathouse and Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
9. Mr. Brightwell.
 Farmer Curier, Mr. Morgan, 2 Swaths.
10. Mr. May & Vines.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.

Second Tens.

1. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
2. Docr. Richardson, Rectr.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
5. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.
6. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
7. Isaac Parr.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
8. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
9. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr

Third Tens.

1. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
2. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
3. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
4. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
5. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
6. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
7. Mr. Bastin & Mrs. Berrington.
 Farmer Whitaker & Farmer Wickens, partin Lot.
8. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
9. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

Fourth Tens.

1. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
2. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
5. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
6. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
7. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
8. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
9. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
10. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.

The Fifth Year. The first Tens Beginning at Hawk-ham Bridge.

1. Mr. Wright & Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
2. John Webb.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocpr.
4. Mr. Wright now Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
5. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
6. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
7. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
8. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
9. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. Mr. May & Vines.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.

Second Tens.

1. Widw. Cook.
 Mr. Warden, Ocpr.
2. Mrs. Brightwell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. Lawrance Clark.
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.
4. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
5. Lawrance Clark.
 Farmer Welsh, Ocpr.
6. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
7. Mr. Bennington.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
8. Mrs. Bennington & Mr. Powell.
 Farmer Whitaker & Mr. Morgan, partin Lot.
9. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.

Third Tens.

1. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
2. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocpr.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
5. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
6. Mr. Pottinger.
 Farmer Streek, Ocpr.

7. Fisher & Knight.
 Mr. Warden, Ocpr.
8. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
9. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

Fourth Tens.

1. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
2. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
3. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
4. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
5. Isaac Parr.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
6. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.
7. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
8. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
9. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.

First Tens Going back from Middleham Hedge.

1. Mr. Brightwell.
 Farmer Curier, Mr. Morgan, 2 Sworths.
2. Mr. May & Vines.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
3. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
4. Mr. Wright now Draper.
 Farmer Clark, Ocpr.
5. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.
6. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
7. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
8. Mrs. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
9. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

Second Tens.

1. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
2. Mr. Pottenger.
3. Docr. Richardson, Rectr.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
5. James Wickens.
 Farmer Pearce, Ocpr.
6. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
7. Isaac Parr.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
8. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
9. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
10. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.

Third Tens.

1. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
2. Norris & Moathouse.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Mr. Bastin & Mrs. Berrington.
 Farmer Wickens & Farmer Whitaker, partin Lot.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
5. Norris & Webb.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr
6. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
7. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
8. Lawrance Clark.
 Farmer Welsh, Ocpr., Hanson
9. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
10. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.

Fourth Tens.

1. Mr. Bastin.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
2. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
3. Abbots d'Bear.
 Farmer Whitaker, Ocpr.
4. Townland.
 Farmer Wickens, Ocpr.
5. Moathouse & Norris.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
6. Mr. Powell.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
7. Webb & Norris.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
8. Moathouse.
 Mr. Morgan, Ocpr.
9. Widw. Webb.
 Farmer Field, Ocpr.
10. Lawrance Clark
 Farmer Hanson, Ocpr.

The Account of the Four doles as they come Round to the Coppy holds.

Thos. parr ...	2 Years	...	Geo. Morgan's, Esqr.	...	1785
Jno. Lipscombe	1 do.	...	Do.	...	1786
paties	1 do.	...	Do.	...	1787
More Lands ...	1 do.	...	Do.	...	1788
Vines's	1 do.	...	Do.	...	1789
Moat house ...	1 do.	...	Do.	...	1790
Polentines ...	1 do.	...	Mr. Jefferys	...	1791
Bartholomews	1 do.	...	Danl. Benham	...	1792
Saml. Smithe ...	1 do.	...	Do.	...	1793
Whitchers ...	1 do.	...	Mr. Jefferys	...	1794
Takewayes ...	1 do.	...	Mr. Streek	...	1795
Bakers	1 do.	...	Do.	...	1796
Taylers	1 do.	...	Do.	...	1797
Jenninges's ..	1 do.	...	Mr. Jefferys	...	1798
Bristows	1 do.	...	Mr. Streek	...	1799
Coppy hold ...	1 do.	...	Mr. Jefferys	...	1800
Abraham parr...	1 do.	...	Do.	...	1801
Webbs	2 do.	...	Do.	...	1802
Norris's	2 do.	...	Mr. Brown	...	1803

The above is, so far as I am aware, the only detailed account of this system that has been published. We have known in a general way of the system of letting lands by lot, but the exact process by which the allotment was made was by no means clear. In the above we have the system applied in detail to the lands of a whole parish, and antiquaries have henceforth a definite example of this method to appeal to in support of their theories as to the history of ownership of land in this country.

Nay, more, the second lotting-book has the further interest of marking the transition between the old and the modern system. For it will be shown that the name of the person to whom the lot falls in each year is followed invariably by that of the occupier, and in many cases adjoining lots are held by the same occupier. Thus, to take an example on p. 353, second column, in the "Third Tens", it will be noticed that Farmer Wickens occupies five out of the ten lots. It is obvious that a very slight extension of this method would approach very close to the modern system of copyhold.

We may now turn to a somewhat different system of holding. From very early times, possibly from the Anglo-Saxon period of village communities, the parishioners and inhabitants of Newbury exercised the right of pasturage for cattle over certain

open and common fields within the limits and boundaries of the borough and parish, known as East and West Fields, Northcroft, the Marsh, and Wash Common, together with other lands long since enclosed or appropriated. With regard to the origin of these commonable lands, in feudal times nearly the whole of the land of England lay in an open, and more or less in a commonable, state. Each parish or township comprised different descriptions of lands; having been subjected, during successive ages, to specified modes of occupancy, under ancient and strict regulations, which time gradually converted into law. These parochial arrangements, however, varied somewhat in different districts, but not widely. Under this ingenious mode of organisation, each parish or township was considered as one *common* farm, though the tenantry were numerous. Round the township of Newbury, in which the tenants resided, lay a few small enclosures or *grass yards* for rearing calves, and as baiting and nursery grounds for other farm stock. This was the common farmstead or *homestead*, which was placed as near the centre of the more cultivable lands of the parish as water and shelter would permit. Round the homestead lay a suit of arable fields, including the deepest and soundest of the lower grounds situated out of the way of water, for raising corn and pulse; as well as to produce fodder and litter for cattle and horses in the winter season. In the lowest situation, as in the water-formed base of the Kennet valley, or in swampy dips shooting up among the arable lands, lay an extent of meadow grounds or *ings*, to afford a supply of hay for cows, and working stock in the winter and spring months. On the outskirts of the arable lands, where the soil was adapted to the pasturage of cattle, or on the springy slopes of the hills, less adapted to cultivation, or in the fenny *leases* (pasture-grounds) of valleys, which were tunnel or gravelly water-formed lands, and too dry to produce an annual supply of hay with sufficient certainty, one or more stinted pastures or *hams* were laid out, for milking cows, working cattle, or other stock which required superior pasturage in summer. The bleakest, worst soiled, and most distant lands of the township were left in their native wild state, for *timber* and *fuel*, and for a *common pasture* for the more ordinary stock of the township, whether horses, rearing cattle, sheep, or swine, without any other stint or restriction than what the arable and meadow lands indirectly gave. Every joint tenant, or occupier, of the township having the nominal privilege of depasturing as many cattle, sheep, or other live stock on these

common fields in summer as the appropriated lands he occupied within the township or manor could properly maintain in winter.

Further, the appropriated lands of the township were laid out with equal good sense and fairness. That each occupier might have his proportionate share of lands of different qualities, and lying in different situations, the arable lands more particularly were divided into numerous parcels, of sizes according to the number and rank of the occupier.

East and West Fields.

Taking these fields in the order named, we first come to East and West Fields. These common fields were divided into parcels, the property of freeholders, of from one, three, to five acres, divided from each other by strips of turf, called *linchards* and *mere* banks. The course of the crops being, in general, 1st wheat, 2nd barley or oats, with or without grass, 3rd clover, peas, beans, or fallow. From this course turnips were excluded, unless by agreement between the various occupiers. Over these common field lands the resident householders in the parish and borough of Newbury enjoyed the right of depasturing cattle from the end of harvest till the 8th November, according to the quantity of land they held. They had also a right to any crops remaining in or upon the ground, and could cut any green crops and any stubble, and could dig up any roots. Neither the freeholder nor the person occupying the land had any power to prevent those having rights of common from exercising this privilege.[1]

Soon after the Enclosure Commission was established in 1845, to facilitate the enclosure and improvement of all lands subject to any rights of common, the Corporation of Newbury made application for the dividing, allotting, and enclosing of these common fields, and a provisional order was made under Seal of the Commissioners, 4th April 1846. All the necessary provisions having been fulfilled, the award was made by Edward Grantham, of Croydon, surveyor and valuer, who allotted the proportionate shares of the common right lands to those persons only having land within the parish and borough: the extent of their right being estimated upon the basis of the quality of stock the land held by them would maintain winter and summer, or, in proportion

[1] From information obtained by Mr. Bennett, H.M. Geol. Survey.

to the advantage received by the exercise of this ancient privilege. The Enclosure Award was sealed by the Commissioners 31st January 1849.

Northcroft.

These fields, containing about thirty-two acres, are what is known as "Lammas Lands", *i.e.*, commons on which the inhabitants have the right of pasturage, formerly commencing on Lammas Eve, the day before the festival of Lammas Day, the 1st August, till Lady Day, the 25th March. But for many years the ground has been opened on the 12th August, and closed for cattle on the 6th April. This alteration in opening and closing the fields was due to the change of style in 1752, which made a difference of eleven days; the 1st August, Old Style, would therefore be the 12th by the New Style, and the 25th March would be the 5th April; but for some reason the 6th of April was adopted.

So far back as the year 1640 we find a Hayward of Northcroft was appointed by the Court Baron of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Newbury as Lords of the Manor, and strict regulations were made from time to time as to the day of *hayning* or closing, and *breaking* or opening the fields; and the records of the Court Baron contain many stringent orders for the government of these and other common lands within the manor. In 1650, the Court Baron presented Henry Girle for putting twelve cows into Northcroft contrary to custom, and amerced him 4*s.*; and in 1654 Edmund Caton was amerced 5*s.* for carrying manure across Northcroft into Speen fields. The following year, 1655, it was ordered that no inhabitant should, after the 1st August tye, or caused to be tyed, any horse or kine in any mown meadow ground until such time as the field "be taken up", on pain to forfeit for every offence 12*d.* for every such horse or cow; the Hayward to impound such cattle, and to have for his pains 2*d.* each, "the residue to be delivered to the Overseers of the fields for the use of the poor." In earlier times men only kept as much stock as their land would maintain throughout the year, but it frequently happened that many of the inhabitants had considerable land in other places, and kept a large number of cattle, which, so soon as Northcroft and the other common fields were opened, were turned in to eat up the feed, to the great prejudice of the poor husbandman and cottager, who bore equal burdens with their wealthier neighbours. To

remedy this wrong, an Order was made by the Court Baron in 1663—

"That no inhabitant shall bring any cattle into Northcroft or the other open fields, unless such as are usually kept in the parish, and no person to turn out above 4 hoggs[1] and 4 beasts, or 6 beasts and 2 hoggs at one time, upon pain of forfeiture of *2s. 6d.* for each hogg or beast above the aforesaid number."

At the same Court it was ordered:

"That no man, unless he be a householder and pay taxes, and do other duties belonging to the Borough, shall have any privileges in the Marsh, Northcroft, or any of the fields belonging to this Borough, nor any other portion, under any pretence whatsoever."

It was also ordered that no butcher should turn out "fatt cattle" in any of the fields before the 25th March, excepting Northcroft, where they might be depastured five weeks after Shrovetide.

At this period the authorities had great difficulty in preventing persons using Northcroft as "a common highway to Speen", and it was ordered that the gate should be kept locked by the Hayward, so that no person should be allowed to ride or drive that way.

In 1666 we find Northcroft mentioned as "A Lammas Ground to Common in, for all sorts of Cattle, from Lammas Eve till the 25th of March." A few years later, in 1671, it was ordered "That no person put any strange cattle into Northcroft, but only such as belong to parties pasturing them."

In 1675 it was ordered:

"That no inhabitant shall put into our Commons at the Marsh and Northcroft at one time above 1 horse or 2 cows except those who have land in Northcroft."

At the Court Baron, held in October 1709, the jury presented William Barnett for laying a bridge over a ditch between the meadow rented of Sir Thomas Dolman and Northcroft, and for opening of Northcroft-gate after it was "hained",[2] and for taking his cattle a new way into his meadow.

In 1680, the time of "breaking" or opening Northcroft is mentioned as Lammas Eve, "which is the last day of July", until 25th March.

[1] "Hogg", a lamb after weaning, until it is shorn of its first fleece.

[2] The word "hayned" is an old English term, signifying to lay in ground for hay, by taking the cattle off, etc., and is used in that sense in the Records of the Court Baron.

At the Court Room held in 1756, the following order was made by the jury:

"We direct the Hayward[1] of the parish to take six pence for each horse or cow that shall be found in Northcroft or the Marsh that shall belong to persons not residing in the same."

And in 1771 the jury presented:

"That according to the ancient custom of this manor no owner or occupier of Lands in Northcroft hath a right to hitch, inclose, or feed any of the land there from the usual time of its haining to the customary time of breaking, neither hath any person to lay and dry peat thereon. And that if any Cattle be found in Northcroft contrary to the usual custom the Hayward to impound the same."

The above are the most noteworthy entries in the Court Rolls which bear upon the rights of the inhabitants of Newbury in regard to Northcroft.

At the County Court held at Newbury, 15th February 1888, before his Honour, Judge Lushington, Q.C., the case of "Hobbs *v.* the Corporation of Newbury" was heard. The plaintiff, a farmer at Henwick, sued the Corporation for £5 10*s.* 4*d.* for nominal damages and trespass for being prevented free access to his freehold land, situate in Northcroft, and impounding cattle, whereby he was prevented from feeding his aftermath; his contention being that the Corporation had no right to exclude his cattle at any time, nor to exclude him access to his land. After hearing the evidence of myself and others, the Judge gave a verdict for the Corporation, with costs on the higher scale. The Letters Patent of King Charles I and the Ancient Court Rolls were produced by me in Court, and extracts read, which afforded most valuable evidence in support of the position maintained by the Corporation as Lords of the Manor.

The Marsh.

There is a tradition that "The Marsh", which contains sixteen acres, was given to the town by two maiden ladies, but if so, it must have been at a very early period, as it has been appurtenant to the town for the pasturage of cattle for several centuries, and is open

[1] The word "Hayward" is in all probability derived from *hay*, a hedge or enclosure, and "*ward*", to take care of, *i.e.*, a person who looks after the cattle and prevents them from breaking down the fences, etc.—the Warden of Common lands.

throughout the year; every inhabitant householder having the right to turn out one horse or two cows.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Marsh was largely used as a "Tenter Ground" or "Rack Marsh" for drying cloth by the Winchcombes and other clothiers whose factories abutted on this common land.

At the time of the Civil Wars some rough outworks were thrown up in this Marsh, under the personal direction of Cromwell, and have only recently been levelled.

In the last century, and in the early part of the present, this open space was used for drilling the local Volunteers and Militia; and has been the scene of many merry-makings and rustic sports, and is usually chosen as a site for the travelling circuses which from time to time pay a visit to the town. It has recently been designated "The People's Park", but it is to be hoped that the historic name of "The Marsh" will long retain its proper place.

Wash Common.

The manorial rights of the Crown over the common-field land known as "The Wash", and containing 251a. 3r. 14p., were acquired by the Mayor and Corporation of Newbury by grant from King Charles I in the year 1627, who, by letters patent, in consideration of £50, and subject to a yearly payment of £25 4*s.* 2¼*d.*, granted to them and their successors in fee the reversion of the town, manor, etc. And these common-right lands remained opened and unappropriated, subject to the rights of the inhabitants of the borough to common pasturage, according to the regulations enforced by the Courts Baron of the Mayor and Corporation as lords of the manor, until enclosed.

On the 24th January 1855, a meeting of landowners and inhabitants of Newbury was held at the town hall to receive consents to the enclosure of these common lands, within the borough and parish of Newbury; a Provisional Order having been previously obtained from the Enclosure Commissioners for England and Wales by the Mayor and Corporation as lords of the manor. A long discussion took place as to who were entitled to rights of common over the Wash, which rights were defined as belonging only to parties having land; and the extent of their right limited to so much cattle as the lands held by them within the borough would maintain winter and summer.

The meeting as to this enclosure resulted in a motion by Mr. Edward Brice Bunny, seconded by Mr. Turner—

"That the enclosure of Wash Common is expedient for the interests of the town of Newbury."

The motion was carried with three dissentients. Mr. Cornelius Butler Davis acted as surveyor and valuer in the matter, and his award was sealed by the Enclosure Commissioners, 25th February 1858.

WALTER MONEY.

COMMUNAL HOUSE DEMOLITION.

THERE was a strange custom peculiar to the ancient community of the Cinque Ports, which has not, so far as I know, been found elsewhere in England. If a member of any one of these towns was elected to serve as Mayor or "Jurat" (the governing bodies consisting of a Mayor and twelve "Jurats"), and refused to accept the office, his house was publicly demolished by the community. An extract from the Custumal of Sandwich, headed "Pena maioris electi recusantis officium suum", will make the custom clear:—

"Si maior sic electus officium suum recipere noluit, primo et secundo et tercio monitus, tota communitas ibit ad capitale messuagium, si habuerit proprium, et illud cum armis omnimodo que poterit prosternat usque ad terram. Similiter quicunque juratus fueret electus, et jurare noluerit simile judicium."[1]

Although the custom of house demolition is apparently, as I have said, peculiar in England to the Cinque Ports, it was of widespread occurrence abroad. Thither, therefore, we must turn our steps in order to investigate its history.

It is in Flanders and in Northern France, and in Picardy most of all, that we find this singular custom prevailing, and discover its inseparable connection with the institution of the *Commune*. It would seem that the penalty of house demolition was originally decreed for offences against the commune in its corporate capacity. Thierry, basing his conclusions mainly on the charters of the commune of Amiens and the daughter-charter of Abbeville, writes:

"Celui qui se soustrait à la justice de la Commune est puni de bannissement, et sa maison est abattue. Celui qui tient des propos injurieux contre la Commune encourt la même peine. Voilà pour les dispositions communes aux chartes d'Amiens et d'Abbeville, c'est-à-dire pour celles qui authentiquement sont plus anciennes que l'acte royal de 1190. Si

[1] Boys' *Sandwich*, p. 431.

l'on ne s'y arrête pas et qu'on relève dans cet acte d'autres dispositions, probablement primitives aussi, on trouvera les peines du crime politique, *l'abatis de maison* et le banissement, appliquées à celui qui viole sciemment les constitutions de la Commune et à celui qui, blessé dans une querelle, refuse la composition en justice et refuse pareillement de donner sécurité à son adversaire.

"Une peine moindre, car elle se réduit à ce que la maison du délinquant soit abattue s'il n'aime mieux en payer la valeur est appliquée à celui qui addresse des injures au Maire dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, et à celui qui frappe un de ses Jurés devant les magistrats, en pleine audience. Ainsi l'abatis de maison, vengeance de la Commune lésée ou offensée, était à la fois un châtiment par lui-même et le signe qui rendait plus terrible aux imaginations la sentence de banissement conditionnel ou absolu. Il avait lieu dans la plupart des communes du nord de la France avec un appareil sombre et imposant; en présence des citoyens, convoqués à son de cloche, le Maire frappait un coup de marteau contre la demeure du condamné, et des ouvriers, requis pour service public, procedaient à la démolition qu'ils poursuivaient jusqu'à ce qu'il ne restât plus pierre sur pierre."[1]

The public character of the ceremony, which was no less marked at Sandwich (*vide supra*), is well illustrated in the *Ordonnances* of Philip of Alsace (*cir.* 1178) on the powers of his *baillis* in Flanders:

"Domus diruenda Judicio Scabinorum, post quindenam a scabinis indultam, quandocunque comes præceperit, aut ballivus ejus, diruetur a communia villæ, campana pulsata per Scabinos; et qui ad diruendam illam non venerit, in forisfacto erit," etc., etc.

This ringing of the communal bell—parallel to the moot-bell of England—is an important feature in the matter. Without insisting upon a stray allusion, one may ask whether an entry in the Colchester records, of the 16th century, threatening that if an offending burgess does not make amends, the town will "ring him out of his freedom", may not be explained by this practice.

There are plenty of other early instances of this house demolition in recognised *Communes*. At Bruges we read (*cir.* 1190): "Si scabini voluerint domum eius prosternere, poterunt," etc., etc. So, too, at Roye, the charter (*cir.* 1183) provides: "Domus foris-

[1] *Monographie de la Constitution communale d Amiens* (*Essai sur l'Histoire du Tiers-Etat*, pp. 347–8). The charter of Abbeville prescribed this penalty ("domus ejus et omnia ad ejus mancionem pertinentia, prosternantur") for homicide, which lies outside the class of "political offences".

factoris diruetur si Major voluerit, et si Major redempcionem accipiet de domibus diruendis," etc., etc. Si quis extraneus forisfactum fecerit Major et homines ville ad diruendam donum ejus exeant; quæ si sit adeo fortis ut vi Burgensium dirui non possit, ad eam diruendam vim et auxilium conferemus."[1] So essential was the power of distraint, as we might term it, given to the community over its members by the possession of a house, that it was sometimes made compulsory on a new member to become possessed of a house within a year of his joining. This was the case at Laon, one of the oldest of the *Communes*, the charter of Louis VI (1128) providing that "Quicunque autem in Pace ista recipiatur, infra anni spatium aut domum sibi edificet, aut vineas emet per que justiciari possit, si quid forte in eum querele evenerit." Where, in the absence of such provision, the culprit had no house to be demolished, it would seem that, in some cases, he had to procure one for the express purpose of being demolished before he could be restored to his membership. Thus, at Abbeville, the charter of *Commune* provides that "si domum non habuerit, antequam villam intret, domum centum solidorum, quam communia prosternat, inveniet."

Thierry pointed out how the "commune" of north-eastern France found its way, through its adoption in Normandy, to the opposite corner of the country "sur les terres de la domination Anglaise".[2] The form "jurats" adopted by the Cinque Ports for the members of their governing body suggests, indeed, some connection with Gascony, to which region, as Thierry observed, it more especially belongs.[3] I was much struck, when at Bayonne lately, with its interesting municipal history. Thierry alludes to its peculiar character[4]; and, as the town had commercial relations with the

[1] *Recueil des Ordonnances des Rois de France*, p. 228.

[2] So also p. 263, where he calls attention to "l'établissement de la constitution communale de Rouen et de Falaise dans quatres des provinces annexées au XIIe siècle à la domination anglo-normande"; and to "cette adoption de la commune jurée selon le type donné par les grandes villes de la Normandie, événement auquel contribua sans doute la politique des rois d'Angleterre."

[3] "A Bordeaux le principal titre de magistrature était celui de Jurats, titre qu'on retrouve dans une foule de villes, depuis la Gironde jusqu'au milieu de la chaîne des Pyrénées" (p. 247).

[4] "Au milieu de cette unité d'organisation administrative et judiciaire, la ville de Bayonne se détache, et contraste avec toutes les autres. On la voit, au commencement du XIIIe siècle, abandonner le régime municipal indigène et chercher de loin une constitution étrangère, celle des communes normandes, transportée et perfectionée dans les villes du Poitou et de la Saintonge; c'est

Cinque Ports, and illustrates, moreover, the tendency of a commercial port to adopt, from other regions, a constitution peculiar to itself, I shall here give from its local customs the provisions as to house demolition.

Appended to John's charter granting a *communa* to Bayonne (19th April 1215) we find a code of communal ordinances based partly on those in the Rouen and Falaise charters and partly on the customs of La Rochelle. In this code the penalty of destroying the offender's house was decreed for a magistrate who accepted bribes,[1] for a citizen who shirked his military service,[2] for a perjured man,[3] for a thief.[4]

It again appears as the penalty for receiving bribes in the local Custumal assigned to 1273:—"Le soe maison sera darrocade, et que jameis ed ni son her no hage juridiccion en le communi." In the foundation-charter granted to Sanabria by Alphonso IX of Leon, in 1220, we find this penalty similarly assigned to perjury ("que la su casa sea derribada por esta razón"); but when the charter was altered by Alphonso X (1 Sept. 1258), the penalty was commuted for a pecuniary fine of sixty "sueldos", on the ground that the destruction of the house was an injury to the city and to himself.[5] This is important as affording an instance of the actual introduction of commutation.

Now, my contention is, that as the practice of communal house demolition wandered down into Gascony, and thence actually crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, so—in the opposite direction—it crossed the Channel and established itself in the Cinque Ports. As these movements become better understood, we are learning to treat them scientifically, and to trace them through their growth to their origin. In the case of the *commune*, the principle of filiation enables us to accomplish this with remarkable success.

une double cause, la suzeraineté des rois d'Angleterre étendue de la Normandie aux Pyrénées, et le commerce d'une ville maritime, qui amène ainsi aux extrémités de la zone municipal du Midi la commune jurée dans sa forme native, avec toutes ses règles et ses pratiques" (p. 249).

[1] "La soe maizon, so es del maire o daquet quiu loguer aura pres, sera darrocade seins contredit."

[2] "E en merce de le comunie, de sa maizon darrocar."

[3] "Sera en merce dou maire e dous pars de sa maizon darrocar."

[4] "Le maison ons ed estaue sera abatude per les justizies de la comunie."

[5] "Ca esto tornarie en daño de Nos e de la nuestra Puebla." (*Boletin de la real Academia de la Historia*, Oct. 1888.)

But, it may be asked, is there any instance, on the other side of the Channel, of house demolition being the penalty prescribed for refusal to accept office as Mayor or Jurat? It is, I reply, at Amiens the very penalty prescribed for that offence! The Custumal of Amiens contained these two clauses:

"Et convient que chis qui pris est faiche le serment de la mairie, et se il ne veult faire, on abatera se maison, et demourra en le merchy du roy au jugement des esquevins.

"De rekief se li maires qui eslus seroit refusoit le mairie et vausist souffrir le damage, jà pour che ne demoureroit qu'il ne fesist l'office; et se aucuns refusoit l'esquevinage, on abateroit sa maison et l'amenderoit au jugement des esquevins, et pour chou ne demoureroit mie que il ne fesist l'office de l'esquevinage."[1]

Thierry, who was ignorant of the Cinque Ports custom—as the historians of the Cinque Ports appear to have been ignorant of that at Amiens—describes this provision as "loi remarquable en ce qu'elle faisait revivre et sanctionnait par des garanties toutes nouvelles ce principe de la législation romaine, que les offices municipaux sont une charge obligatoire".[2] But this brings us face to face with the difficult and disputed question of the persistence of Roman institutions. Personally, I have always thought it rash to accept similarity as proof of continuity. Here, for instance, the occurrence of this practice at Sandwich might lead to the inference that the institutions of Sandwich were of direct Roman origin. Yet, if this practice was imported from France, we see how erroneous that inference would be. A *reductio ad absurdum* of this rash argument, as I have elsewhere pointed out, would be found in the suggestion that every modern borough rejoicing in the possession of aldermen had derived its institutions continuously from Anglo-Saxon times. In the particular instance of this practice, we should note that it occurs (*a*) in that portion of France where the municipal development was least Roman in character; (*b*) in a peculiar and original form—the "garanties toutes nouvelles" of Thierry.

Again, we find the infliction of fines for non-acceptance of municipal office a familiar custom in England even to the present day. These fines were undoubtedly commutations for an original expulsion from the community; and at Colchester, for example, I

[1] "Ancienne Coutume d'Amiens" (*Recueil des Monum. inéd. de l'Histoire du Tiers-Etat*, p. 74).

[2] He refers us to the Theodosian Code, Lib. XII, tit. 1, "de decurionibus," and D., Lib. I, tit. 4, "de muneribus et honoribus."

have a case of a man being deprived of "his freedom" for declining the office of alderman, and of his having to make "submission" and pay a fine before it was restored. The fact is, that in every community, whether urban or rural, where office was a necessary but burdensome duty—like modern jury-service or mediæval "suit" —a penalty had to be imposed upon those who declined to discharge it. The peculiarity of the Sandwich and Amiens cases consists not in the imposition of a penalty, but in the character of the penalty imposed.

Pass we now from the consideration of this penalty to the wider and important conclusions suggested by its local occurrence.

I have always been puzzled by the peculiar phenomena presented by the "Cinque Ports" organisation. To other writers it would seem to present no such difficulty; but to me it is unique in England, and inexplicable on English lines. In that able monograph of Professor Burrows,[1] which is the latest contribution on the subject, the writer, I venture to think, leaves the problem as obscure as ever. I shall now, therefore, advance the suggestion, which has long been taking form in my mind, that the "Cinque Ports" corporation was of foreign origin, and was an offshoot of the communal movement in Northern France.

From Picardy, which faced the Cinque Ports, they derived, I believe, their confederation. To quote Thierry:

"La région du nord, qui est le berceau, et pour ainsi dire la terre classique des communes jurées, comprend la Picardie, l'Artois, etc. Parmi ces provinces, la Picardie est celle qui renferme le plus grand nombre de communes proprement dites, où cette forme de régime atteint le plus haut degré d'indépendance et où dans ses applications, elle offre le plus de variété. Les communes de Picardie avaient en général toute justice, haute, moyenne et basse. Non-seulement dans cette province les chartes municipales des villes se trouvaient appliquées à de simples villages, dont quelques-uns n'existent plus, mais encore *il y avait des confédérations de plusieurs villages ou hameaux réunis en municipalités sous une charte et une magistrature collectives.*"[2]

Let me briefly summarise the arguments on which I base my hypothesis:—

(1) There is no parallel to the Cinque Ports confederation in England,[3] but there is in Picardy.

[1] *Cinque Ports* (Historic Towns Series), by Montagu Burrows.

[2] *Essai sur l'Histoire du Tiers-Etat*, p. 240. (The italics are my own.)

[3] The Danish "Five Boroughs" stand apart, as a temporary confederation, the character of which we do not know.

(2) The very name "Cinque Ports" betrays a foreign origin,[1] as does the fact that the oath taken by the King's Warden to the Corporation was termed, not an oath, but a "serement" (as in France).

(3) The English Merchant-Guild[2] and the English "Alderman"[3] were unknown to the Cinque Ports constitutions; but they all possessed the typical constitution of the *Communes* of Northern France, namely, a Mayor, with a Council of twelve, these twelve councillors having the French name of *Jurats*.[4]

(4) In the Cinque Ports, as in the French *Communes*, we find side by side with this elective administration, a royal officer, with us a Warden, with them the *Sénéchal* (or *Prévôt* or *Bailli*) *du Roi*.

(5) The very same penalty of house demolition for refusal to accept office as Mayor or Jurat was exacted in the Cinque Ports (and nowhere else in England) as at Amiens.

I do not contend that the French "Commune" was adopted intact by the Cinque Ports, for of course it was not so. In the matter of names alone, they are not styled a "commune", nor are the members of their community termed "jurés" *(jurati)*, but "barons" (*barones*). The study, however, of the "Commune" in France itself reveals the adaptation to environment it underwent on transplantation. And, the salient feature of the Cinque Ports organisation, the fact that they formed a single community, possessing a single assembly, and receiving a joint charter, is paralleled most remarkably in the joint "communes" of Picardy, containing from four to eight separate "vills".[5]

It would be very satisfactory if the French "Communes" could throw light on the obscure title of "Barons" appertaining to the men of the Cinque Ports, and to them, I maintain (against Prof.

[1] Professor Burrows makes light of this name, asserting that "it is hard to say when the French form came into common use" (p. 56). But "the five Cinque Ports", which he admits to be the correct style, is a pleonasm which proves the "Cinque" to be older than the "Five".

[2] "London and the Cinque Ports stand isolated from their fellows in the common absence of the institution" (Burrows, p. 43).

[3] "The same may be said of the office of 'Alderman'. The term seems to be only accidentally, if not erroneously, used" (*Ib.*, p. 44).

[4] The Mayor and his twelve *pairs*, *jurats* (or *jurés*), or *échevins*, were an essential feature of the *Commune*, and spread with the communal movement.

[5] *Recueil des Ordonnances des Rois de France*, xi, 231, 237, 245, 277, 291, 308, 315.

Burrows), alone among English burgesses. I have elsewhere shown that there is evidence of the use of this term at an earlier period than is supposed, viz., in the early years of Stephen ; but on its origin the "Commune" throws no light. One can only quote the parallel afforded by the "Commune" of Niort, and this is taken from a late document (1579). Its officers are said to hold of the King "à droit de baronie, à foi et homage-lige, au devoir d'un gant ou cinq sols tournois, pour tous devoirs, payables à chaque mutation de seigneur."[1] This "devoir" is parallel, it will be seen, to the "canopy-service" (or "Honours at Court") of the Cinque Ports, rendered as it was, in practice, "à chaque mutation de seigneur". It is noteworthy that a French royal charter of 1196 contains the clause: "prefati quatuor ville exercitum et equitationem nobis debent *sicut alie communie nostre*";[2] but one can scarcely connect this with the naval service of the Cinque Ports. Yet it was part, undoubtedly, of the communal principle that the "commune" should hold directly of the King, and not of any mediate lord, and this principle would explain the style "barones regis" applied to the men of the Cinque Ports.

To sum up, there are features about the Cinque Ports organisation which can only be accounted for, it seems to me, by the hypothesis here advanced. If this novel solution be accepted,[3] a question at once arises as to the date at which this communal confederacy was established. From what we know of the origin of the "Commune", we can scarcely believe in its adoption here till a generation, at least, after the Conquest. "Only the least informed and most sceptical", writes Prof. Burrows, "have placed the act of incorporation later than the date of the Conqueror";[4] but a wider knowledge of municipal institutions would lead to the opposite conclusion. It is possible that the reign of Henry I may have witnessed the superimposing of a communal confederacy on the existing institutions of the several ports ; it is impossible, at any rate, to trace it in *Domesday*, and difficult, indeed, to reconcile with its existence the evidence afforded by the Great Survey. It is conceivable that the position already attained, in the Conqueror's days, by Dover, may have served as a model for the other Ports,

[1] This represents the "esporle" of South-Western France.

[2] *Recueil* (*ut supra*), xi, 277.

[3] I can find no trace of it in Prof. Burrows' careful *résumé* of the factors in the Cinque Ports organisation.

[4] *Cinque Ports*, p. 56.

when they learnt the power of the principle that lay at the root of the *Commune*—"L'union fait la force."[1]

[1] Professor Burrows is very severe on those who question the alleged charter of Edward the Confessor to the Ports and "the sweeping franchises" that it conferred (pp. 55-6, 59). But the sole evidence for its alleged existence is the charter of 1278, which does not even, I think, necessarily imply it. For the allusion to the liberties the Ports possessed in the days of Edward and his successors might well be taken from such a charter as that of Henry II to Lincoln, in which he grants to the citizens all the liberties "quas habuerunt tempore Edwardi et Willelmi et Henrici regum Anglorum". This does not imply that those kings had granted charters.

J. H. ROUND.

NOTES ON THE RUDE STONE MONUMENTS OF SLIGO AND THEIR CONTENTS.

STRANGE, fantastic names have been bestowed by the imaginative Celt on rude stone monuments, or even mere earth-fast rocks, situated in the most widely severed parts of Ireland. There are designations such as "Fuyre-stone", "Sifter stone", "Stone of the Champions", "Griddle", "Giant's Load", "Hog's Bed", "Giant's Bed"; poetical designations such as *Leuha na Sidh*, "the Bed of the Fairy", "Finn Mac Cumhail's Fuyre Stone"; also names purely local, such as the "Goat's Stone", "The Ass's Manger"; or simply descriptive, such as the "Grey Stone", "The Speckled" or "Bracked Stone", the "Holed Stone". A further enumeration of curious names given to megaliths may be seen in (a part of) the *Dind senchas of Erin*, translated by J. O'Beirne Crowe, in the *Journal R.H.A.A.I.* These quaint, descriptive expressions are yet firmly rooted in the minds of the peasantry; their history, when traceable, is of interest, for they, or at least some of them, may be regarded as fossilized ideas; and as in the strata of the rocks we find traces of extinct genera and species, so in these expressions fossilized forms of old-world fancies become apparent.

In the townland of Scurmore, parish of Castle Connor, there is a locality marked on the Ordnance Map with the singular title of "Children of the Mermaid". On visiting the spot, it was ascertained that this designation applies to some large stones or boulders —stated to be seven in number—on the north-east periphery of a circular rampart, surrounding a fine tumulus called *Cruchan cornia*, situated in a plantation close to the road. The present arrangement of these boulders does not convey the impression of any specific plan, but the following legend relative to their origin is still recounted by the country people:—In old days, when the O'Dowds were Lords of Tinragh, the then chief, when walking early in the morning along the sea-shore, discovered amongst the rocks a mermaid lying asleep, enveloped in a gorgeous mantle. Now everybody—or at least everybody in that locality—knows that if one can only get possession of this special article of a sea-nymph's costume she at once loses her aquatic nature, both as

regards form and disposition, and degenerates into an ordinary mortal. O'Dowd, therefore, stepped forward stealthily and became the happy possessor of the magic mantle. In this case the wooing was not long in doing, for the chief took the metamorphosed nymph home as his bride, and carefully concealed the gorgeous garment. Retribution, however, finally overtook him. His seven children were nearly grown to maturity, when one day his youngest born saw him abstract the mantle from its hiding-place to deposit it where he imagined it would be still more secure—for to destroy it would break the spell; and he lived in dread of its discovery by his wife. The youth, struck by the manner in which—as he gazed on it—the garment flashed, glistened, and changed hues, ran off to describe its beauties to his mother, who, thereupon seized with a sudden yearning to return to her native element, inquired where her husband had left it. On resuming possession of her long-lost garment she bade her children follow her to the sea-shore, and being now re-endowed with all the attributes of a mermaid, she touched each of her children in succession with her magic wand, and thus changed them into seven stones, whilst she herself plunged into the ocean and has never again been seen in Tinragh. This is a very widely spread legend, Crofton Croker, in one of his works, recounts a very similar story, and there is an Esquimaux legend which bears a singular resemblance to it. A carn near Skeene, and the "Giant's Table" near Ballina, are mentioned in ancient Irish manuscripts as the burial-places of these well-known historical personages; and the following legend, roughly translated from the *Dind senchas*, thus accounts for the name *Magh Tilrath*, a locality situated near the mouth of the river Moy; and the Tulchun and hillock alluded to may perhaps be the tumulus of *Cruchan cornia*, under which are situate the "Children of the Mermaid". *Trint* the wise, King of Ireland, arrived at the mouth of the Moy, then called the *Inver of Carn Glas*; there he was met by his foster-mother *Tilrath*, daughter of *Cas-Clothach*, of the race of the Tuatha-de-Danann. Tilrath led the monarch to her dun or dwelling, then called Magh Glas; there the king sickened and died His subjects carried off his body for interment to the pagan cemetery of Croghan. The grief of Tilrath for the death of her foster-son was so great that she threw herself into the sea; her body was cast ashore by the waves and buried in the plain near the strand; from her *Magh Tilrath* is named. Tulchan-na-ngaethe, *i.e.*, "the Hillock of Lamentation", derives its name from the keening of the people of the locality bewailing the death of the king and his foster-mother.

The references to *pagan* burials bring down the usage of certain forms of rude sepulture to the sixth century.

In the construction of megaliths a really difficult engineering feat was the lifting and proper placing, on the three or more uprights, of the heavy mass of stone forming the roof of so-called "cromleacs". One covering block, constituting the table-stone of a cromleac near the village of Heapstown, is calculated to weigh upwards of seventy-five tons. It is suggested that perhaps beams would be placed side by side on an inclined plane, raised as high as the upper edge of the uprights, in such a way that one end would project beyond the edge as much as the length of the great stone required. After the block had been placed on rollers, with the aid of wedges, levers, rams, and the strength of men and beasts of draught, the block could be rolled up the inclined plane as far as the stones which were to form its supports; these last, being stayed by earth, could not shift either way, and the tram-road itself, along which the load was drawn, resting also on a solid base, would not break down.

A great number of urns containing calcined bones have, from time to time, been discovered in ancient pagan burying-places in Sligo; unhappily, however, the great majority of them have not survived their disinterment, in consequence of rude handling and their own very imperfect manufacture. Some good examples may, however, be seen in the Museum R. I. A., and in that of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, at Alnwick Castle. These cinerary urns have been found sometimes in small cists, the interior space being occupied by the urn and its contents alone, whilst in other cases the cist contains also charcoal and portions of burned bone; in some instances the flooring-stones have become vitrified upon the upper surface, thereby leading to the supposition that the funeral pyre was lighted over the grave after it had been formed.

Urns, when first discovered, are observed to vary in position, some being erect, others inverted, their contents in both instances consisting principally of fragments of bone bearing unmistakable evidence of the action of fire; besides human bones, those of the smaller animals, birds, etc., have been found, though generally in a less calcined condition than the human remains. The body must therefore have been burned, and the bones reduced to this calcined condition, before being placed in the urn.

The varieties exhibited by sepulchral urns may be characteristic of peculiar races, tribes, or persons, or merely expressive of the art of the day. They would seem almost invariably to have been

hand-formed, and were, perhaps, made at the grave with the materials most ready at hand, and placed while in a soft state within the burning pyre, which with the surrounding heated stones and earth served as a furnace for baking them. The fact of mortuary fictilia having been occasionally found in a bent or crushed condition lends probability to this conjecture, and the rudest specimens are generally the most fragile, on account of the material composing them being a coarse clay with scarcely any admixture of sand. In those which show more care in the fabrication, sand and small fragments of stone are mixed through the plastic mass and also rubbed upon the inner surface, especially near the bottom for the purpose of giving greater stability. A micaceous clay appears to have been employed for the same purpose, and in some of the best specimens minute particles of quartz and felspar may be observed.

The finds in megaliths are of the most miscellaneous descriptions. Besides those found by other explorers, the writer discovered about thirty flint-flakes, forming spears and arrow-heads, knives, etc. They have been analysed, and are stated to be formed of Antrim chalk flint, and were therefore imported from the north of Ireland, as were also ornaments and other articles formed of steatite; steatite and flint being material foreign to the Sligo formation. Amongst the most curious of all the "grave goods" brought to light was a sword, or, rather, a stabbing rapier formed of cetaceous bone; microscopic sections of this implement were sent to London, where it was decided that the structure was true bone of the whale.

A fragment of glass, most likely an ornament on the body of the person, or one of the persons, whose ashes reposed beneath the shelter of the covering slab of the cromleac, was dug up. In its present shape it appears meaningless, and has evidently been acted on by fire; a depression in its centre may have been occasioned by its contact when in a state of fusion with a small stone or pebble. Most specimens of Roman glass manufacture found on the sites of ancient camps or villas in Great Britain present a beautiful iridescent lustre, produced by a slow process of decay of the surface of the material. The crust on the specimen from the Sligo cromleac is of similar character, but more weathered than the generality of Roman examples, having passed the iridescent stage and progressed to one in which a substantial coating of matter impervious to the light has accumulated. The question arises, Was the glass of native manufacture, or was it imported?

In none of the interments which were inspected (about thirty in number) were any traces of metal observable.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that fragments of quartz, or white, smooth, and water-worn pebbles, accompanied nearly every interment as yet disinterred by the writer, and the fact serves to identify the human remains as belonging to a very ancient period of interment. It was the custom probably alluded to in the Book of Revelation, in the promise, "To him that overcometh I will give a white stone."

This custom was practised in Scotland, in Ireland, and in England. Shakespeare was acquainted with the usage, for in *Hamlet* he makes the priest to say, when attending the body of Ophelia to the grave—

> "Her death was doubtful;
> * * * * *
> She should in ground unsanctified have lodged
> Till the last trumpet; for charitable prayers,
> *Shards, flints*, and *pebbles*, should be thrown on her."

I.e., in a case of supposed self-destruction, the corpse being unworthy of the rites of the Christian Church, pagan observances should suffice; for these smooth, white, clean, and polished stones were probably to the ancient pagan mind emblematic of some religious creed at present a mystery to the antiquary.

THE DESTRUCTION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

DURING the summer the following circular was issued to the chief antiquaries of England:

SIR,—We are desirous of learning the amount of destruction of Ancient Monuments that is going on in the country, and venture to appeal to you to answer, from your intimate knowledge of the archæology of your county, the following questions:

(1) What tumuli, or other stone monuments, have been recently removed or destroyed?

(2) What churches have been "restored"?

(3) What historic monuments are being left exposed to the weather without protection?

(4) What records, county and parish, are being left uncared for?

Kindly mention in each case any details which have come under your notice. Any use that will be made of your replies will be authenticated by your name, unless you express a wish to the contrary.—I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

G. L. GOMME, *Editor.*

We have received many replies, the most interesting of which we give at once without comment. In most cases they tell their own tale, and show that Sir John Lubbock's Bill has had but little effect on the rapid decrease of ancient monuments. As is but fair, we insert all letters which controvert this statement. We begin with the communication with which we were favoured by the President of the Society of Antiquaries.

1. I am not aware of any tumuli or stone monuments having been recently destroyed in Herts, but I hear that Limlowe Hill, between Ashwell and Royston, in Cambs., is being carted away.

2. There are but few "unrestored" churches left in the county. The Abbey Church at St. Alban's is undergoing a process of ruthless renovation at the hands of Lord Grimthorpe, and one feature after another of its ancient character is being destroyed. All the Norman turrets have been wantonly pulled down, and I fear that the Early English windows of the choir are marked for destruction.

3. I do not call any to mind.

4. Parish records are being more carefully preserved than they were some years ago.

JOHN EVANS.

1. I know of no tumuli or other stone monuments that have been recently removed or destroyed in Cumberland; the pre-historic settlement on Threlkeld Knott, near Keswick, is doomed to ruin, for the cliff on which it stands is rapidly being converted into paving sets.

2. A good many churches in the county have, in the last ten years, been in the hands of architects and others, but with one melancholy exception, which I prefer not to name, little has been done that can be complained of.

3. The famous crosses at Gosforth and Bewcastle, the Giant's Grave at Penrith, etc., are exposed to the weather, but it would be impossible to put these under shelter, as has recently (very properly) been done with the Ruthwell Cross. In various parts of the county there are Roman altars and inscribed and sculptured stones, suffering from exposure to the weather, but not any great number. The number was greater, but I have been successful in getting some (the famous Roman bagpiper, the altar Deo Mapono, etc.) deposited in the Carlisle Museum, and in inducing the owners of others to provide shelter for them, as at Birdeswald, where the valuable collection was once much neglected.

4. A large sum of money, about £700, was spent by the magistrates of Cumberland a few years ago in providing a muniment-room for their records, which are in excellent condition, and accessible. They consist mainly of enclosure maps of very great value. The Corporation of Carlisle, some ten years ago, erected new offices for the Town Clerk, with strong rooms for their more valuable muniments. They have since gone to considerable expense in cataloguing, repairing, binding, and putting in portfolios their charters, muniments, and records. The records belonging to the Bishop of Carlisle are well cared for, and accessible on application to the Registrar. A start was made recently to bind the transcripts of parish registers, but little progress has been made, owing to the want of funds. Those belonging to the dean and chapter are safely kept. The parish registers, etc., in custody of the clergy are in much the same condition as in other counties, perhaps rather better. There are, up and down the county, large collections of manorial records, as to whose condition I can hardly speak. The records of the eight trade guilds of Carlisle are in very precarious custody, and should, if possible, be acquired by the Corporation.

RICHARD S. FERGUSON,

President of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, and Chancellor of Carlisle.

Carlisle, August 21st, 1889.

SIR,—In reference to your letter on ancient monuments, printed in the *Archæological Review*, I wish earnestly to call the attention of your readers to the condition of antiquities in the Isle of Man, especially the most interesting of all, its "runic monuments". Having recently visited the island, I was able to inspect a large number of these. In all there are some 20 or 30. Enclosed is a list according to what I saw, and found in the guide-books, but these are very unsatisfactory on the subject. The late Dr. Cumming, of King William's College, edited these monuments, and caused casts of several to be taken. These were formerly in the school museum, but, with the exception of the upper portions of the Maughold Cross, which is not "runic" in any sense, they

have since been removed to the Recorder's office in Rushen Castle, Castletown. A more trustworthy book on the subject is said to be the guide, now out of print, by Mr. Kneale, bookseller, of Douglas, whose readings and renderings in the main support Professor Munch's translations, based on Dr. Cumming's work, which he had to emend conjecturally in several readings. Some pains had been taken in a few instances, notably at Kirk Braddan and Michael, to mount the monuments on pedestals, but in no case have they been protected from the ravages of weather and the ignorant vandalism of tourists. The best that could be done with them would be to have them safely housed in a museum—to think that there is no museum, worth the name, in the whole island! Or failing this drastic remedy, it would be a trifling cost for the House of Keys, or other proper authorities, to have them placed under cover and fenced in. A comparatively small sum would suffice to have a complete series of casts executed. This is a work that should be done at once. The present dangers to these venerable relics of history are a downright scandal to the island, and a lasting reflection on its public men, magistrates, and clergy. On good authority I was told that a considerable portion of the inscription had been broken off one and disappeared within the memory and certain knowledge of my informant.

With regard to Peel Castle and S. German's Cathedral, a great deal more might be done at small expense in cleaning and repairing the ruins. This is beyond all comparison the most interesting spot in the island, both picturesquely and historically. Notably the shameful litter of tombstones, which has converted the nave of the cathedral into a common cemetery and obscured the beauty of the pillars by concealing their bases, ought to be cleared. Some of the old castle buildings are at present mere grass mounds. In an island which attracts visitors annually by hundreds of thousands, there should be no difficulty in raising the moderate funds required for this purpose. It is, however, a duty of the legislature of the island to protect its own history, and this ought not to be left to chance and private enterprise.

I should be fully satisfied if one with more time and better qualifications could be induced to make a full report on the state of antiquities in Man. I do not doubt that his report would reveal a condition of things far from satisfactory to the student of history and antiquities.

Fettes College, Edinburgh. H. F. Morland Simpson.

List of Runic Monuments in the Isle of Man.

Kirk Braddan, 4; Kirk Onchan, 2; S. Catharine's, Onchan, 2; S. John's, 1; S. Patrick's, Peel, 1; Kirk Michael, 7 or 8; Ballaugh, Old Church, 1; Jurby, 2 (3?); Kirk Andreas, 1 (2?); Kirk Bride, 1; Maughold, 4 (?). These all lie north of a line drawn from Douglas to Peel. I am not aware of any south of this line, though Scandinavian names abound.

Sir,—With regard to my former letter on some Isle of Man antiquities, I have since been able to consult Cumming's *Guide* (London, 1861) and Munch's edition of the *Chronicon Manniæ*. From the information contained in these works I have composed the enclosed tabular

view of the Scandinavian and runic crosses in the island, which I send you as a correction to some statements in my former letter. In the table I have adopted Cumming's list of parishes according to the sheadings, from which it would appear as though a number of these stones, even inscribed, are to be found in the southern half of the island, including Braddan, German, and Onchan. In his discussion of these crosses (p. 152) Cumming objects to Worsaae's statement [*i.e.*, in *Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, p. 279, London, 1852], that the Scandinavian influence prevailed to a greater extent in the north than in the south, and speaks of it as an error due to his "limited knowledge of the number of examples of these crosses, and a wrong division of the districts."

Worsaae's statement is in effect that "the different districts" of the island contain 30 sculptured crosses, of which at least 13 once had runic inscriptions, and these are found "exclusively in the northern half of the island."

Now as Worsaae specially mentions one at Braddan and two at Onchan, it is obvious that he counted these parishes as in the *northern* half of the island, and very reasonably, as we suppose. The fact is, Cumming has quoted him very loosely. What he really writes is, "We may, with some degree of probability, conclude that at the time when these runic stones were erected the Scandinavian language was the most prevalent one in the northern part of the island"; not, be it observed, ". . . . influence more prevalent in the north than in the south." Worsaae was quite sufficiently familiar with Manx history and place-names to know that the south must have been largely affected by the Norse invasions and settlements.

Whatever opinion we may hold as to the division of the island into north and south sheadings, it does not at any time in early Manx history appear that the sheadings were of the nature of a *national* political division. There can hardly be a doubt that the true natural and political division of the island was *the low valley between Douglas and Peel.* Geologically, this is evident. Politically, it is noteworthy that it contains the famous Tynwald Hill, the true centre of the island, even to this day, and close to the junction of the natural and main roads (and railroads too) leading N., S., E., and W. And to seek no further for historical evidence in the chronicles of the battles and conferences of which this valley has been the scene, it is significant that of the two disputed sheadings which Cumming reckons as southern, *the most southerly* is called specifically the *middle* sheading. So far as I am aware, not a single runic stone, in the true sense of the word, namely, inscribed with runic characters, has been discovered south of this valley. The fact that, though we now know of no less than 18 or 19 inscribed stones, Worsaae's observation remains substantially correct, is a strong confirmation of his conjecture. Further, of the remaining 20 or 21 Scandinavian crosses in the island as given by Cumming, it is remarkable that only some three or four have been discovered south of this valley. Munch's list of 17 inscriptions on 15 crosses connects two fragments at Kirk Michael (Nos. 7 and 8), which Cumming has reckoned separately. This list may be supplemented by the inscriptions in S. German's Cathedral (Cumming, p. 116) and the cross discovered in a tumulus about half a mile west of Tynwald, in 1860, the year of Munch's publication, which, according to Cumming, had not been deciphered in 1861, when his Guide was published.

Fettes College. H. F. Morland Simpson.

Sheading.	Parish.	Bailiwick.	No of Crosses.	Scandinavian.	Inscribed.	
Rushen[1]	Malew	Castletown	1	1	0	
	...		—	—	—	
	Axbary		0	0	0	
	Rushen		2	1?	0	
Middle[1]	Santon		1	0	0	A Latin inscription
	Braddan		9	?	3	
	...	Douglas	—	—	—	
Glenfaba[1]	Onchan		5	4?	2	
	German		2	2	2	Not in Munch
	Peel		—	—	—	
	Marown		0	0	0	
	Patrick		0	0	0	
Garff	Lonan		3	2?	0	
	Maughold		10	?	0	
	...	Ramsey	—	—	—	
Ayre	Legayre		0	0	0	
	Bride		1	1	0	
	Andreas		2	2	2	One given in Munch
Michael	Jurby		3	3	2?	
	Ballaugh		1	1	1	
	Michael		9	7 or 8	7 or 8	
		Total[2]	49	40	18	

NOTE.—In illustration of the destruction to which these crosses are exposed, I mention two fine crosses in Braddan Churchyard, one of which has been broken across the shaft and the inscription mutilated (No. 16 in Munch), and the other (No. 40 in Munch) has had the heads of the runes, on nearly half the inscription, so broken as to make them now illegible. This must have been done since Munch's edition, in which he gives the words entire.

Extract (copied) from a Manx paper.

"For Sale, a *Baptismal Font* beautifully carved, from *Furness Abbey*. Price £10.—Apply Stone, Switchback, Palrose."

Fettes Coll. H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON.

Hawick Archæological Society.

SIR,—One of our members (Mrs. M. G. Craig) has recently been visiting all the antiquarian (prehistoric) remains in our neighbourhood, and she has kindly prepared the enclosed for me for your use. The notices of "records" I have taken from the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1845 ed.; and there is also a very interesting and valuable report on Church records, just published. An appendix to this will be issued shortly, as it is not yet complete.—Yours truly,

D. WATSON, *Secretary.*

[1] *Southern* Sheadings in Cumming's list. This list does not include the pillar-cross at Kirk Michael, carved with the Three Legs, and therefore subsequent to 1270 A.D.

[2] According to Cumming.

(*Enclosure.*)

1. The Hero's Grave on Ca' Knowe, Hawick Muir, fenced in, but otherwise unprotected. Suittie Knowe, quite uncared for, and almost wholly removed and destroyed. Tumulus on Stonedge Hill; cist removed some time ago; circle of stones still left; quite uncared for. Tumuli on the hill near Jedburgh, called the Dunion, recently opened by the Marquis of Lothian.

2. Jedburgh Abbey, restored by the Marquis of Lothian so far as to preserve its main features.

3. The old Border peel-towers of Fulton, Goldilands, etc.; facsimiles of those mentioned, if not themselves mentioned, in the despatches of Evers, Laton, and Surrey in their Border raids. In the town of Hawick, quite recently, the last of the old bastel-houses, which along with these peels made the South of Scotland in ancient times one huge war-camp, was ruthlessly destroyed.

Ancient Remains in Teviotdale.—Prehistoric.

The Earthworks.—The Catrail, no part of which is either enclosed or preserved. Hawick Moat, a mound of the bowl-barrow type with a flat top, 30 feet high, 312 feet round at its base, and measuring 117 at the circumference of summit, is under the protection of the Duke of Buccleuch. Numerous camps getting destroyed, with some few exceptions, and disappearing year by year. Cave-dwellings on Ale, Jed, and Rule, possibly prehistoric.

Stone Monuments.—On Stonedge Hill there is a circle of stones, at a point overlooking the Rule valley, which probably originally enclosed a barrow crowned by a central stone, which still lies in the centre of the hollow enclosed by the circle. This monument is entirely unprotected, save for that protection which has till lately been sufficient for the traditional handing down of the knowledge of each prehistoric marvel upon the ground or herding by every shepherd to his successor; and it is to be regretted that, owing to frequency of removals, such is ceasing to be the case. Another circle of stones is to be found on the east side of the Bruch or Brugh Hill, at the head of Allan water, also unprotected; and just over the ridge, from the source of the Slitrig at the head of Hermitage water, still stands the celebrated circle of nine stones which give their name and fame to the "Nine Stane-Rig". Formerly one of these circles occupied the rising ground known to former generations as Sillery Knowe, near Ancrum; but it has disappeared, and all that is left to remind the antiquary that such a thing may have existed is the name given to a group of cottages near, viz., Harestanes. On Hownan Law, one of the Cheviots, near the source of the Rule, stands a row of eleven stones, apparently the remains of one of the long avenues of stones familiar to those who have visited Stennis, Avebury, or Carnac, and to which are attached the same legends as pertain to the Dance Maine and other wonders. They are locally known as the Shearers. On the farm of Coats, just over the ridge from Teviotdale into Eskdale, Eskdalemuir, are to be found the remains of two very extensive circles; but of late years these have considerably diminished.

Pillar-Stones.—On the farm of Midshiels, near Hawick, one such stone occupies the centre of a field, unprotected. Another, known as the Tillielea Stone, and also as the Pether's or Pedlar's Stone, stands on the hillway between the Allan and the Liddle. Formerly a great number of

these pillar-stones are known to have been used as landmarks and memorials in the valley, but have now almost disappeared.

Teviot Stone, made famous as a landmark by Sir Walter Scott, was originally but a rough boulder of what is locally known as bastard freestone, much like its neighbours still to be found embedded in the hillside, remnants of the glacial flow across the White Hope Edge. Most likely it was set up in a remote age to mark the crossing between Teviot and Eskdale, just as Craick-Cross did between Borthwick and the Streams of Esk, or as Tweed's Cross, or any other, marks the departure two different ways either of rivers or roadways—boundary-stones, indeed. It was a boulder, rather flat and smooth on one side, and rising on that side to about four feet high, but shorter on the other, which measured about three feet in height, and then tapered away into a point, joining the semi-smooth side in an irregular line. Originally it had no inscription; but early in the present century it was made to do duty as a milestone. About the year 1821 it was broken by some malicious or thoughtless persons. It was pieced together again, but allowed to lie altogether without protection; and the latest report regarding it is, that, some fifteen years ago, some workman, putting up the boundary-fence, utilised its remains as handy ballast for unsteady standards. Certain it is that the few pieces arranged circlewise round a slight hollow, said to represent the spot where it stood, are varied in texture and quality, and could never have formed the *débris* of any one stone in existence. So that even the memory of such a memorial is likely to fade and its one-time existence to grow mythical.

Forts and Camps.—Among the numerous camps and forts scattered throughout the valley, a very interesting and typical group occurs on Wauchhope Rig, Rule water. An earthen camp with hut-circles occupies the summit of the hill facing the Rule; and down the hill-side, to the very river-side, lie, tier upon tier, lines of those terraces of cultivation known as lazy-beds. These stretch along the hill between two springs of excellent water, and must have been in connection with the old camp or township; while in the centre of the Rig, within a stone's-throw of the other, stand the remains of a fortified dwelling of the Bruch type. The central building, with two outer ditches, are quite plainly defined. The latter has been planted and preserved by the late Sir Walter Elliot of Wolf-lee. Another of those camps with terraces occurs on Hownam Law, but apparently of a somewhat later date.

Tumuli abound all over the valley, for the most part with no protection. Two very interesting ones are to be found on Hawick Muir, on the farm of Southfield. The one known as the Hero's or Warrior's Grave was so called from the fact that in 1810, after the immense cairn of stones overlying it had been carted away year after year to the making of roads, building of dykes, and even a hamlet of houses, a cist was discovered containing a burial of a gigantic man in the sitting posture. Before that period the spot had been known as the Caa' Knowe, and the neighbouring height, of the same nature, and which had been made use of for the same purposes, was called the Suittie Knowe. A year or two ago, when digging the foundation of a house in the High Street of Hawick, the workmen came upon a cist of precisely the same kind as that found on the Caa' Knowe, and the remains, when examined, were found to be those of a young horse.

Roman Remains.—Camps and tumuli near Jedburgh are being cared for by the Marquis of Lothian. On the estate of Wolf-lee, Rule water, a

Roman roadway, in which the pavement is still quite plain, is still used as a drove-road between Rule water and England across the Cheviots; and two Roman gravestones, with inscriptions, on Wolf-lee Hill. The Roman remains at Newstead, Melrose, have almost disappeared.

HISTORICAL.

An old bridge over the Jed, at Jedburgh, with ribbed arches, is perhaps the oldest historical monument in the district; it is said to date from the Roman period. The old abbeys are now being well cared for; while the old peel-towers, which rose throughout it in their palmy days, are now scant, and as scantly cared for; Goldilands, Fulton, and a few isolated specimens being all that remain of a style of building which made the South of Scotland one huge war-camp. An old bridge, similar to the one across the Jed, once spanned the Slitrig at Hawick, though some features of its architecture made it more likely to have been a production of Norman times. It was destroyed a number of years ago to make way for a woollen mill thrown across the Slitrig. A short while ago the last of the old bastel-houses, which at one time spread all over the town, was taken down.—(One still remains.—D. W.) The remains of the "House of Stone", however, which, from its designation, must have dated back to the time of mud-huts and wooden dwellings, is still in part to be seen; the Tower of Hawick having been incorporated into the Tower Hotel, and its strongly arched vaults taken for use as a cellar. The old Tower of Howpasley, of similar construction to these others, was unfortunately almost erased from the face of the earth a few years ago by the zeal of a cottar in the cultivation of his land, and all that remains of it now is a mound of earth and stones surmounted by a tree. The site of Cocklaw Castle has been similarly obliterated. Branxholm, Burnhead, Crumhaugh (also destroyed), etc. Hospitals at junction of Rule and Teviot, and the Mallew walls, near Ancrum.

1. I do not think there have been any stone monuments or tumuli destroyed of late years. The great mischief was done during the time of making the railways through the county, about forty years ago.

2. Nearly every ancient parish church in the county has been restored, and in many cases all the venerable associations connected with them have been completely destroyed; but I must say that there was a necessity for the restorations in some of the buildings, owing to the dilapidated state they were in.

3. I don't know of any.

4. Our borough and parish records are more cared for now than was formerly the case. In some of the more remote churches it was frequently the case that interesting and important documents were left in the parish chests, unlocked, and could be taken away by anyone who happened to be visiting. Our county records have just been transferred from Appleby to Kendal; they are under careful custody, but there is no sufficient protection from damp and fire, and they ought to be arranged to facilitate inspection.

Kendal. J. WILSON.

SIR,—In reply to your inquiries, I do not know (1) of any tumuli or other stone monuments having been recently removed or destroyed in this neighbourhood. We have here several unexplored tumuli of large

size, and many indications of the smaller Saxon tumuli, but since the great discoveries of Mr. Faussett on Barham Down and other places there have been no great "finds" of this kind. We might discover much in the neighbourhood, but you are aware how difficult it is to awaken the interest of landlords or tenants in the matter, apart from the expense attending any exploration of the kind.

2. I do not think that any new "restorations" have been carried on here, though in cases where the churches were ruinous or inadequate there have been necessary rebuildings or enlargements. I believe that the conservative feeling is gaining too much strength to enable the clergy to act in the arbitrary manner they have too often done in the alteration of the fabric of their churches.

3. The remains of the ancient basilica of Lyminge, the only existing ones of a really basilican church, though they are exposed to the air and to the severe winters of the place, have wonderfully escaped any injury, the Roman concrete and other materials of which they are built being of the most imperishable character. But I watch over them with the greatest care, preventing as far as possible any deteriorating effects. I wish much that I could place them under the protection of the "Ancient Monuments' Commission", as they are *outside* the church of which I am myself the patron.

4. I do not think that any county or parochial records are left uncared for, thanks to the zeal of our Kent Archæological Society, which has perpetuated a vast amount of evidence relating to the history of the county. The records at Lambeth (with the Library of which I am connected as an Hon. Curator) are under the most careful custody, and additional restraints have been placed by the Archbishop, at my suggestion, on the access to the registers, which had been greatly taken advantage of by doubtful inquirers, to the great risk of documents which are invaluable and could never be replaced. The late Sir Duffus Hardy kindly moved the authorities to examine and index the large collection of documents relating to the early history of the Archbishop's manors, which has greatly assisted students of local history. I have long advocated the deposit of parochial records of an early date in some central and secure place in London, according to Lord Romilly's suggestion, but at present unsuccessfully. They are national records, and as such ought to be duly preserved.

Lyminge, Hythe. ROBERT C. JENKINS.

SIR,—In reply to your circular I beg to say, as regards Montgomeryshire—

1. I am not aware of any tumuli or stone monuments having recently been removed or destroyed.

2. The following are the principal churches that have been "restored" within the last 20 years:—Guilsfield, Castlecaereinion, Welshpool, Llanfair Caereinion, Meifod, Montgomery, Kerry, Llanllugan, Llanidloes, Llangurig.

3. Historic monuments left exposed to the weather:—The ruins of Newtown old church.

4. Records left uncared for:—The county records require arrangement and indexing, having through several removals got into some confusion. The parish registers and records are, I believe, as a rule, carefully looked after. R. WILLIAMS.

Celynog, Newtown.

SIR,—As regards the North of England, I shall begin with the Roman Wall, as being the most important remaining monument of Roman rule in Britain. This certainly is in great need of protection in some parts of its course, as owing to the storms of winter and its exposed situation it is tumbling down piecemeal. The portion running through Mr. Clayton's property is the only part that I am aware of which has any attention bestowed upon it. Every spring he sends men to repair any damage done during the preceding winter, and to prevent further ruin. But nothing less than scheduling the whole remains from Wallsend to Bowness will suffice, and not only this, but a sum should be set apart annually for replacing stones, etc., etc.

Two or three years ago an act of vandalism was perpetrated by the owner of the piece of land on which three Roman tombs stood on the west side of the Watling Street and a little to the south of the Roman station of High Rochester (*Bremenium*) in Northumberland. They consisted of one circular and two square erections. The latter were removed to build a wall as a shelter for cattle, and when a remonstrance was sent to the barbarian, he threatened to remove the remaining tomb if any fuss were made. His reason for the destruction, like that given for the destruction of "Arthur's Oon" on the Antonine Wall, was that people trespassed on his land—mere moorland—when in quest of the structures. The remaining tomb, of which there is nothing like it in England, so far as I am aware, ought also to be scheduled.

As regards the restoration of churches, I think your question would have been more easily answered had it been, What churches have *not* been restored? In the county of Durham I remember the following only:—Wilton-le-Wear, Redmarshall, Dalton-le-Dale, Houghton-le-Skerne, Peaham, and of these, Dalton-le-Dale and Houghton are about to undergo the process, if not undergoing it at the present time. In Northumberland:—Edlingham and Kirkwhelpington are *all* the unrestored churches that come to my mind.

At the "restoration" of the church of Whitburn, not far from here, some years ago, a fine altar tomb of 1689, bearing a recumbent effigy, was remorselessly placed in the churchyard under the drip of trees, where it is fast being destroyed. The present rector is anxious to have the monument replaced in the church, but he has no funds for the purpose.

As regards the care of records, the question is so wide that it is difficult rather to answer. Only three or four years ago a building within the Auckland Palace gates, which had been the receptacle for several centuries for the papers of the important diocese of Durham, was cleared of its contents in order to find offices for some officials. These papers were all taken away in carts to be burnt; some of these carts were fortunately intercepted on their way to the fire, and many of the papers secured. If those saved be any criterion of the value of those destroyed, the loss to history is great. If such things occur at the seat of the diocese, what can be expected at the extremities of it?

SIR,—In reply to your circular, I am glad to say that, as far as my knowledge of the county of Oxfordshire enables me to speak on its subject, I believe historic remains and architectural features in churches are very generally carefully preserved. No doubt church restorations often need watching, but they *are* watched, and I do not myself know of any recent cases in which harm has been done. Records also are much better looked

after, and church registers are no longer to be found neglected, ill-treated, or exposed to destruction, as they often were formerly. I have not unfrequently been consulted about the best means for their preservation, or about their binding. I dare say Oxfordshire may very favourably be compared with some other counties in some of these respects.

Ducklington Rectory, Witney. W. D. Macray.

Sir,—With regard to the questions in the circular letter issued by you, I may mention two cases that came under my notice this year in the Highlands, though I have no doubt there are much worse things elsewhere.

1. Under question 1: Near Aviemore, a station on the line between Perth and Inverness, north of Kingussie, there are two stone circles. One is two miles and a half from the station, at the edge of a small loch called Loch nar Carraigean in the Ordnance Survey Map. The other is half a mile from the station, near a cluster of small farms called Milton. I was told that a good many of the large stones which had stood at intervals, forming the outer ring of these circles, had been removed a good many years ago, to be used in the building of Aviemore House.

2. Under question 3: Sweno's stone at Forres, with intricate carving of figures, etc., stands completely exposed to the wind and rain.

W. M. Lindsay,
Fellow of Jesus College.

Oxford, October 31st, 1889.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DOMESDAY MEASURES OF LAND.

It is quite unnecessary for me to reply in detail to Mr. Pell's voluminous article, firstly, because my object has been attained, his calculations having (I am assured by those best qualified to judge) been completely exposed and demolished by me; secondly, because, instead of attempting to meet my criticisms, he contents himself almost entirely with the extraordinary course of reprinting, at great length, material which has already appeared more than once, at considerable cost to learned societies and publications. We must therefore assume that he has exhausted his resources, and that he has absolutely no reply to make to such fatal criticisms as those on Broughton (*ante*, pp. 134-6) and the "sexacra" (pp. 136-8), and above all, on that gross perversion of "Fleta's carucate" (pp. 139-40), which lies at the root of his theory.

"Ignorance, sir, sheer ignorance," was the frank reply of a scholar, when called upon to explain his blunder. It is also the explanation that Mr. Pell must give of his wonderful "Pavetone" lucubrations (*ante*, pp. 138, 254; and *Domesday Studies*, p. 325); for they spring solely from his ignorance of the official substitute for erasure ("non presumat abradere sed *linea subtili subducta* cancellet"). Thus the only thing his unfortunate "proof" proves is that he has never even read the *Dialogus*.

But Mr. Pell has advanced, I frankly admit, one new argument; he has substituted "walnuts" for "crabs" as evidence on Domesday Measures of Land. I accept the omen. "Five" walnuts may mean six; but if my opponent claimed that they should mean *six* when he was buying and *five* when he was selling, he would find that claim as sturdily opposed as is his present claim to interpret the "five" of *Domesday* as five *or* six *ad libitum*.

J. H. Round.

As Mr. Pell has vouched me to warranty against Mr. Round, I am reluctantly compelled to ask for space sufficient for a few words of explanation. I do think it plain from the Wilburton Rolls, when compared with the extents of the Ely manors, that to hold 12 *acras ware* was the same thing at Wilburton as to hold 24 *acras*. To the best of my belief, though I am not very familiar with these matters, Mr. Pell was the first to refer to this "ware" reckoning, and when I had satisfied myself that the *plena terra* of Wilburton contained 12 *acras ware*, but 24 *acras*, as Mr. Pell said

was the case, then I thought, as I still think, that he had made a valuable contribution to the study of manorial affairs. But beyond that I have not gone and am not prepared to go. And since reference has been made to me I feel obliged to say, though my opinion on such a point can hardly be of importance to anyone, that Mr. Pell's method of dealing with figures does not satisfy me. If it be true—and I am far from saying that it is not—that in the documents with which he deals 5 sometimes means 5 and sometimes means 6, then my own conclusion would be that to get precise numerical results out of such documents is simply impossible. Some inspired printer has already turned the *Anglicus numerus* into the *Angelicus numerus*, but for my own part I am inclined to liken it to the number of the beast.

F. W. Maitland.

ERRATA.

On p. 309, for *Sophetul.* read *Supp. Ant.*; for "*secondly* to his mother and to his father, and *thirdly* to his father and to his mother", read "*secondly* to his mother and not to his father, and *thirdly* to his father and not to his mother."

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EARTH-HOUSES & THEIR INHABITANTS.[1]

THERE is one variety of underground dwellings which, in the northern counties of Scotland if not elsewhere, is more specially indicated by the term "Earth House", or "Eirde House". With regard to this class of structure, an experienced archæologist[2] makes the following remarks:—

"The whole of these have been formed after one idea, viz., to secure an unobserved entrance, and to preserve a curved shape. From the entrance the first part of these structures is generally a low and narrow passage, growing in width and height from the point where the direction is changed, and terminating in a rounded extremity.

"The part of them last referred to is generally from 5 to 9 feet in width, with a height barely sufficient to permit a man to stand erect. In some cases, however, they have been found to be of much more contracted dimensions throughout. The Eirde house at Migvie, in Cromar, only admits a single person to pass along; while that at Torrich, in Strathdonan, Sutherlandshire, is barely 3 feet in width.

"Dr. Mitchell has described another at Erribol, in that county, which is more like a large drain than anything else.

* * * * *

"These underground houses have occasionally smaller chambers, as offshoots from the main one, which are entered by openings of small size.

"They occur at times singly, and at others in groups. On a moor near Kildrummy, in Aberdeenshire, a group of nearly fifty were discovered.

* * * * *

"It has been doubted if these houses were ever really used as places of abode, a purpose for which they seem in no degree to be suited.

[1] This article is in continuation of those on "The Finn-Men of Britain" and "British Dwarfs", which appeared in the *Archæological Review* of August, September, and October 1889.

[2] John Stuart, LL.D., *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, 1st Series, viii, 23 *et seq.*

"But as to this there can be no real doubt. The substances found in many of them have been the accumulated *débris* of food used by man, and indicate his presence as surely as the kindred kitchen-middens which have attracted so much attention, while their occurrence in groups marks the gregarious habits of the early people. The bones of the ox, deer, and other like creatures have been found, as well as the shells of fish, mixed with fatty earth and charred wood. Ornaments of bronze have been found in a few of them, and beads of streaked glass. In some cases the articles found would indicate that the occupation of these houses had come down to comparatively recent times, as in the case of the Irish crannogs, where objects of the rudest times are found alongside of those of the seventeenth century."

These underground passages or galleries are also known as Pechts' or Picts' Houses; and they unquestionably belong to the same family as the other structures so denominated. But they are the rudest and most primitive of all. Between them and a chambered mound such as Maes-how, in Orkney, the difference is great; and still greater is the difference between them and a non-subterranean "broch", such as that of Mousa, in Shetland. Yet all these are so united by intermediate forms that it is difficult to say exactly where the one passes into the other. The nature of the difference may be expressed etymologically by saying that they are *burrows*, *barrows*, and *brochs*, or *burgs;* the "drain"-like Eirde house belonging to the first class, the chambered mound to the second, and the above-ground structure, such as that of Mousa, to the third. The three terms just used are radically one, as the buildings themselves are. But they represent different phases of one idea; and the last phase is very much in advance of the first. Whether the superiority of the one class of building over the other has been caused by the gradual advancement of one homogeneous race, during a long stretch of time, or by the blending of a higher race with a lower, within a limited period, must be regarded as an open question.

But, although that crude form of earth-house which we have described as a burrow, is included among the Pechts' houses of Scotland, it differs in several respects from that variety which has been regarded as the typical "Pecht's house", namely, the chambered mound, or "hollow hillock". One of the salient features of the burrow, the "unobserved entrance", is equally a feature of the hollow mound; and the latter has also the same narrow, low, subterranean passage of approach, formed of rude stone slabs. In each, too, as in the more advanced and elaborate "broch", it is seen that the builders knew of no other kind of arch than that formed

by the gradual convergence of the walls, by means of each course overlapping the course immediately below it, until only a single slab was required to crown the whole by way of "keystone". The better kind of "burrow", with its "smaller chambers, as offshoots from the main one", is also closely akin, in that respect, to the so-called "hollow hill." But, while having all these points of resemblance, the latter differs from the former in that its passage dispenses altogether with the curve which distinguishes the "burrow"; and, greater difference still, in that it is not merely an underground dwelling, but that the earth over it is heaped so high above the level of the adjoining ground that it presents exactly the appearance of a conical or rounded green hillock, when looked at from the outside. Moreover, it is only rendered an "underground" dwelling by the earth-heap imposed upon the original structure, which itself was built upon what was then the surface of the ground. Whereas the long, curved gallery, which has more specially been styled an "earth-house", is below the surface of the surrounding land, and is generally discovered by some ploughman whose plough happens to break or disarrange the stone slabs forming its roof.

There is no special reason for limiting the term "earth-house" to the underground gallery just spoken of, because the chambered mound is also as much an "earth-house". In either case, the structure itself is of stone. Therefore, we need not here restrict the term "earth-house" to one of these two varieties, but apply it equally to both. Each variety is popularly known as a "Pecht's house", and the one is as much an "earth-house" as the other.

The "hollow hill", however, will be the variety of earth-dwelling chiefly considered in this paper. But, before leaving the ruder structure, reference may be made to a Shetland specimen, examined in 1865. It is described as "of a semi-circular form, 2 feet or so beneath the arable land, about 30 feet in length, 3 feet in breadth and height, widening out at the western extremity to the form of a chamber of 5 feet square; ponderous slabs of mica-slate form the lintels. These stones have been transported from Norwick, which is the nearest depot for such, and distant two miles." Like other similar structures this was locally known as a "Fairy Ha'."[1]

Thus, the two varieties of earth-house, each known popularly as a "Pecht's house", are also both remembered as the dwelling-place of fairies. For the chambered mound is equally a "Fairy Knowe"; in Gaelic, a "sheean" (*sithean*), or abode of fairies.

[1] *Memoirs of Anthropological Society of London*, vol. ii, 1865-6, p. 343.

And as the "little people" of Scotland have been chiefly chronicled as "Pechts", or "Picts", we may further consider them in that twofold character; continuing also to regard them in the territories which have already been most frequently named. Of these, none are less worthy of examination than the districts—insulated or otherwise—in the neighbourhood of the Pecht-land Firth.

"By an authentic record of Thomas, Bishop of the Orkneys, dated 1443, and published in Wallace's *Orkneys*, edit. 1700; when the Norwegians conquered these islands they found them possessed 'by two nations, the Pets [Pehts, or Pechts] and Papas'"[1] (*i.e.*, popes or priests). The "popes" referred to are understood to have been the Irish missionaries from Iona, and of them there seems to be no distinct tradition surviving. But the other "nation" is well remembered in both of the Northern groups. "The first folks that ever were in our isles were the Picts," says Shetlandic folklore; "they were very small [people]."

What appears to be a popular tradition relating to the time when the territory of the mound-dwelling Pechts was beginning to be invaded and settled by colonists of another race, is furnished us by Sir Walter Scott. The ballad of "Alice Brand", in *The Lady of the Lake*, speaks of a "moody Elfin King, who won'd[2] within the hill". And we are told in the *Appendix* that this legend "is founded upon a very curious Danish Ballad, which occurs in the *Kaempe Viser*, a collection of heroic songs first published in 1591." It begins "*Der ligger en vold i Vester Haf*", which is rendered in English, "There lies a wold in Wester Haf." Scott says: "As *Wester Haf* . . . means the *West Sea*, in opposition to the Baltic or *East Sea*, Mr. Jamieson inclines to be of opinion that the scene . . . is laid in one of the Orkney, or Hebrides Islands." Both in this old ballad, and in Scott's adaptation, there is an element of the magical, or impossible, or, at least, unexplainable kind; but some of the leading facts are these:—A "husband", or yeoman, goes to this "wold in Wester Haf", taking his wife and all his belongings with him, and there he proceeds to settle down as a colonist. Like many other "backwoodsmen", he begins by felling the trees of the forest[3] for his new home, much to the indignation of the dwarfs

[1] Knox's *Topography, etc.*, Edin., 1831, p. 211, *note*.

[2] Dwelt (cf. Dutch *wonen*, Germ. *wohnen*).

[3] This feature does not accord with the appearance of modern Orkney or the Hebrides, but both groups were once thickly wooded. Buchanan refers to various Hebridean islands as being "*darkened* with wood" in the sixteenth century.

who inhabit a certain "knock" (Gael. *cnoc*), or chambered mound, in that district, and who, indeed, are the owners of the soil.

"He hew'd him kipples,[1] he hew'd him bawks,[2]
Wi' mickle moil and haste,
Syne speer'd the Elf i' the knock that bade,
'Wha's hacking here sae fast?'"[3]

The dwarfs are discomfited in their attempt to enter the "husband's" house, but finally one of them succeeds :—

"The huswife she was a canny wife,
She set the Elf at the board;
She set before him baith ale and meat,
Wi' mony a weel-waled[4] word.

"'Hear thou, Gudeman o' Villenshaw,[5]
What now I say to thee;
Wha bade thee bigg[6] within our bounds,
Without the leave o' me?

"'But, an' thou in our bounds will bigg,
And bide, as well as may be,
Then thou thy dearest huswife maun
To me for a lemman gie.'"

However, the husband is not even temporarily bereft of his wife; and, indeed, after all the threatenings of the "how-folk", the settlers are allowed to remain quietly in possession of their homestead, and their daughter is afterwards married to the dwarf visitor.[7]

Though this song is from a Danish collection, there is another of very similar nature in Unst, Shetland. It begins "Der lived a king into da aste", and it recounts how a certain "wedded wife" was carried off by "the King o' Ferrie". Her husband afterwards goes in search of her; and "one day, in his wandering quest, he sees a company passing along a hillside, and he recognises among them his lost lady." They go into "a great 'ha'-house', or castle", which is said to be *on* the hillside; but as nothing is visible but "a grey stane", after they have entered, it would seem that *the hill itself* was the castle, and the grey stone the entrance door, as in the

[1] Couples. [2] Balks (cross-beams).
[3] From Jamieson's Scotch version, as given by Scott.
[4] Well-chosen.
[5] The dwarf is here addressing the settler by the name of his new possession. [6] Build.
[7] It ought to be added that he is only an "elf" by adoption; but this does not affect the general situation. He bears all the outward characteristics of the dwarfs.

case of the Orcadian Maes-how, or many another residence of the "how-folk". This assumption is quite borne out by the song itself. The same writer[1] indicates that such abductions were quite common in Shetland, when she states that a "witch" who married a dwarf, returned once to her mother's house, and, while imparting to her various other counsels and warnings, "gave many instructions how to provide against the enchantments used by Trows for the purpose of decoying unsuspecting girls into their unhallowed domain." And her parting injunction was to be sure and have the maidens "weel cöst-about" (? protected by charms) "when the grey women-stealers are wandering". But instances of such intercourse between the dwarf races and others, the abduction being by no means confined to one side, could be quoted almost interminably.

The celebrated "how" known as Maes-how, in Orkney, has just been referred to. It is so admirable a specimen of the "Pecht's house" proper that no better selection can be made for a more particular description of such a dwelling. "It stands about a mile to the north-east of the great stone ring of Stennis. Its external appearance is that of a truncated conical mound of earth, about 300 feet in circumference at the base and 36 feet high, surrounded by a trench 40 feet wide. Nothing was known of its internal structure till the year 1861, when it was opened by Mr. Farrer, M.P., but the common tradition of the country represented it as the abode of a goblin, who was named 'the Hogboy', though no one knew why."[2] In Lincolnshire, this term "hog-boy" is pronounced as "shag-boy".[3] The word pronounced *shag* in one place and *hog* in another, is understood to be the same as *haug* or *how;* and the term is therefore a variant of the plural "how-folk". It was one of those "shag-

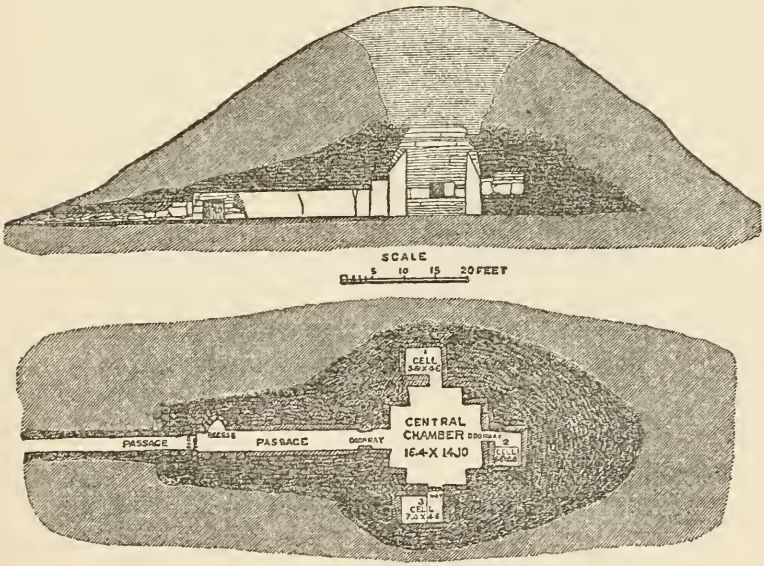
[1] Mrs. Jessie E. Saxby, *Folklore from Unst, Shetland* (*Leisure Hour*, 1880).

[2] Dr. Joseph Anderson, in his Introduction to the *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. ci.

[3] In an article ("From the Heart of the Wolds") contributed to the *Cornhill Magazine* of August 1882, the following is stated with regard to the traditions of this part of Lincolnshire:—"Ghosts, bogies, and the supernatural generally have utterly vanished from this commonplace district before schools and newspapers. Even an old lady more than ninety years old said to us, 'Fairies and shag-boys! lasses are often skeart at them, but I never saw none, though I have passed many a time after dark a most terrible spot for them on the road at Thorpe.'" The identity of "shag-boy" with "hog-boy" (as used in Orkney) is asserted by the writer of the *Cornhill* article; who also states: "In an adjoining field [near Beelsby] lingers one of the few legends of this prosaic district. A treasure is supposed to be hidden in it, and at times two little men, wearing red caps, something like the Irish *leprechauns*, may be seen intently digging for it." These little "red-caps" are not identified with the "shag-boys", but popular tradition generally would pronounce them to be the same people.

boys" or "hog-boys", then, that local tradition remembered as the inhabitant of Maes-how. And nowhere is the tenacity of the popular memory more strongly illustrated than in this instance. For, during many centuries prior to 1861, this had been nothing more, to the passing stranger, than a grassy hillock, utterly void of any indication that its interior was "hollow", and that the whole structure — stone-built dwelling, and super-imposed earth — was entirely artificial,—the work of a vanished race. And yet, so full of vitality is tradition, that the descendants of those who had seen its inmate or inmates, knew, in spite of the lapse of a thousand years, that this was no ordinary grassy mound, but that once upon a time it had been the habitation of people of a certain race, whose characteristics are even yet remembered, if only in a confused and imperfect manner.

However important and necessary a written description may be, it is very incomplete without a personal inspection of the place described, or in lieu of that, the "counterfeit presentment", which is almost as serviceable. From the following diagrams of Maes-how

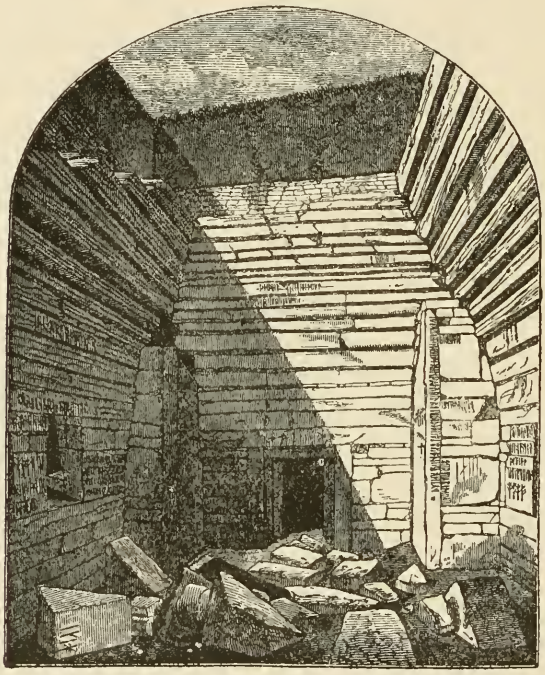


Sectional View and Ground-plan of Maes-how.

one obtains an admirable idea of the exterior and interior of a *sheean*, Fairy Hillock, or Fairy Ha'.

After examining these pictures of this famous "how", one is able to fully understand the traditional accounts of the "hollow

hillocks" of the dwarfs. One can fit any of the many stories that tell of visits paid to such "hills" into this particular scene. There is the small, concealed entrance at the base of the hill (at which, or beside which, the visitor used to knock until "the hill opened"—revealing a low, narrow, dark passage). In this instance the aperture is 2 feet 4 inches in height, and of exactly the same breadth; and its dimensions continue the same for the first 22½ feet into the hill (for it will be seen that the mound of stone and earth that surrounded and covered the actual building gave the habitation a



THE INTERIOR OF THE "HOW".

fictitious base, which had to be penetrated by this passage until the walls of the main building were reached—in the centre of the "hill".)[1]

[1] One is apt to talk of this introductory passage as though it had actually *penetrated* a previously existing mound. But the construction of all those chambered mounds shows plainly that the original stone structure, not only the central building but the long passage of approach, was originally reared upon the surface of the level ground, in the open air. And that the "fairy hillock" had no existence at all until the builders of the stone structure had heaped above it all—chamber and gallery—the mass of earth and stones that afterwards transformed the whole exterior into a "green hillock", and thus completely disguised its real nature from all but the initiated.

In Maes-how the passage of approach is fully 53 feet long. Its height, as already stated is only 2 feet 4 inches during the first 22 feet of length; so that no one, unless an actual dwarf, could walk erect along this portion. After this the roof of the passage rises to 4 feet 4 inches; and it retains this height during the next 28 feet of length. The remaining distance—scarcely 3 feet—is 4 inches higher; and then "it enters the middle of one of the four sides of a chamber which is 15 feet square, and has, when complete, been about 20 feet high in the centre. The walls of this chamber are perpendicular for about 6 feet, after which the slabs, which generally extend the whole length of a side, project beyond the courses on which they rest, until in this way the roof has been completed in the shape of an inverted pyramid formed of successive steps."[1] In the three sides of this central hall (excluding the side at which the long passage emerges) there are respective entrances into three small chambers. The largest of these is less than 7 feet long, less than 5 feet broad, and its roof is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the floor.

In assuming that the roof of this building, now open to the sky, was "completed in the shape of an inverted pyramid formed of successive steps", Colonel Leslie is at variance with the description given by an eighteenth century writer (in connection with similar buildings), and at variance also with tradition. The difference is a slight one, but it ought to be referred to. The roof was not precisely *completed* in such buildings, according to the writer referred to; it "was carried on round about with long stones [each successive course projecting, and thus gradually narrowing the orifice], till it ended in an opening at the top, which served both for light and a vent to carry off the smoke of their fire." Without this opening the dwelling had very little light or air; for little of either could have straggled in from the mouth of the narrow, underground passage, which reached the open air at a distance of 53 feet from the dwelling, and whose entrance, besides, was nearly always closed during the day.[2]

[1] For these details see Colonel Forbes Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 338-40.

[2] Even with this roof-light the interior of the dwelling can only have received a limited supply of daylight. And this explains the statement made by a Scotch peasant who was taken by a "fairy" woman into her abode. "Being asked by the judge [before whom he was tried for 'witchcraft'] whether the place within the hill, which he called a hall, were light or dark, he said, '*Indifferent, as it is with us in the twilight*'."

At night, when the abode of the "hillmen" was lit up with the glow of the fire, the cavity above the building, and the atmosphere overhead, must have also received some share of the firelight. This would account for the state-

While tradition seems clearly to indicate that the roof of the dwelling communicated with the open air above, there is necessarily some uncertainty on this point. The writer who speaks of the roof of such a building being "carried on round about with long stones, till it ended in an opening at the top", may have had in view a structure more resembling the open-air "broch" than the *sith-bhrog;* although he mentions that the kind of building he describes often "looks outwardly like a heap without any design".[1] It is undoubted that many such mounds, for example, those of New Grange and Dowth, in the Boyne district, have their rude, "Pelasgian arch", crowned with one large stone as keystone; and that, therefore, any upward exit from the chamber must have led off in a slant from some portion of the wall. On the other hand, there are several indications that when one ascended the outside of a *sheean*, in the days when it was inhabited, one found oneself at the edge of a hollow or crater, at the foot of which was the narrow orifice that gave light and air to the chamber below. More than one fairy-hill of the present day, not yet explored, has a small hole on its summit, and when a stone is dropped therein, it is heard to rumble and fall into some unknown cavern below. And the existence of such "craters" was well known (we are told by Scott, in his Introduction to the *Tale of Tamlane*) to the people of Scotland. "Wells, or pits, on the top of hills were supposed to lead to the subterranean habitations of the Fairies." Legendary stories in connection with these there are many—of men descending such "pits", sometimes well knowing what to expect, and of having hand-to-hand fights with the natives of these abodes. At other times the attack was made by those "hillmen" themselves; who seem to have emerged by this entrance as often as by the other. "A savage issuing from a mount" was once a well-known bearing in Scottish heraldry. Mr. J. F. Campbell records a Ross-shire tradition of a dwarf who inhabited *Tombuidhe Ghearrloch*, "The Tawny Hillock of Gairloch", and who was the terror of the neighbourhood (whose chief inhabitants, in his day, belonged to another

ment made by Wallace (who wrote at the period when "Evil Spirits also called Fairies" were "frequently seen in several of the [Orkney] Isles dancing and making merry"), to the effect that, "in the Parish of Evie, near the Sea, are some small *Hillocks*, which frequently in the Night time appear all in a fire". And when Mrs. Ewing, in her *Old-Fashioned Fairy Tales*, says that *shian* is "a Gaelic name for fairy towers, which *by day* are not to be told from mountain crags", she evidently alludes to the same feature.

[1] See the description in an Appendix to Pennant's *Tour*, written by the then minister of the parish of Reay, Sutherlandshire.

race). Before he was himself slain, this formidable dwarf had killed many of the latter race ; none of whom (with one exception) dared to venture near his "hillock" after dusk. He was at length killed by a local champion, still remembered as "Big Hugh" (Uistean Mor, MacGhille Phadrig); who was celebrated as a slayer of dwarfs ; and who appears to have devoted himself to their extermination in that particular district. And, in the story of the killing of this noted dwarf, it is stated that Uistean climbed to the top of the hillock (*Tom-buidhe*), and attacked its inhabitant, who emerged from the foot of its "crater" or "pit"; in other words, from the roof of his dwelling.[1]

This, of course, is tradition. But the northern sagas (though "tradition" also) are accepted as "history", in some degree. And the sagas bear a like record. Their heroes break into those dwellings, make their entrance by the hole at the bottom of the "crater", and attack the inhabitants, who, seizing their weapons, defend their lives and (in many cases) their treasures. And, before leaving the "hollow hill" of Maes-how, it may be stated that this particular *broch*, or *sheean*, is believed to have been invaded about a thousand years ago. It was entered in the twelfth century by some of those North-men who were on their way to the Holy Land ; and these have incised various inscriptions on its inner walls. But at that date it was empty—and had been rifled many centuries before. One legendary tale places the date of its original despoliation as far back as the year 920 ; and states that "Olaf the Norseman" was its invader ; and that he encountered its possessor, whom he overcame—after a deadly struggle. And, since "the common tradition of the country [up to the year 1861, when it was reopened] represented it as the abode of a goblin, who was named 'the Hog-boy'," it would seem that the prevailing blood of the country-people, in that district, is akin to that of this "Olaf the Norseman"; and that, therefore, in this instance, the popular memory reaches back for nearly a thousand years, with the most perfect precision.[2]

[1] *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. ii, pp. 97-101.

[2] For fuller information as to Maes-how, and references to more detailed accounts, see Dr. Anderson's *Orkneyinga Saga*, Introduction, pp. ci-cviii.

It may be added that one feature in the first of the Maes-how diagrams conveys a wrong impression of the probable appearance of the mound, when inhabited ; because the "well or pit" (or "crater") is represented as being as solid as the rest of the outer covering. That it gradually became filled up with drift and rubbish, after the dwelling ceased to be occupied, is evident. But when the edifice was newly reared, and as long as people continued to inhabit it, the

The Ross-shire *Tombuidhe* and this Orcadian *broch* are two specimens of the one class; and, both as regards the character of the dwellers and the dwellings, they have many counterparts. How many we do not yet know. It is probable that, in the British Islands alone, they may be numbered by thousands (and we need not here speculate as to the continent of Europe, and other parts of the globe). Colonel Forbes Leslie, referring only to Scotland, says that "even in the present day many a green mound is shunned by sturdy peasants who would not fear the hostility of any mortal"—and this because that mound once contained one or more people of a race of whom that peasant's ancestors stood greatly in awe. That the valleys of the Forth and Teith alone contain a great number of those "green hillocks", as yet unexamined, has been stated by a most able investigator of the Scotch *brochs*, Dr. Joseph Anderson. How many other districts can tell a similar story is a problem that will some day be solved.

The collector (who is, to a great extent, the exponent also) of the *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, appends several very interesting remarks to one of these stories: that of *The Smith and the Fairies* (vol. ii, pp. 46-55). Among other things, he says: "The belief that 'the hill' opened on a certain night, and that a light shone from the inside, where little people might be seen dancing, was too deeply grounded some years ago to be lightly spoken of; 'In the glebe of Kilbrandon in Lorn is a hill called Crocan Corr where the fairies were often seen dancing around their fire.'" And reference is also made to "a certain hill in Muckairn, known to be the residence of the fairies". The incident connected with it is capped with a similar one "told of a hill called Ben-cnock in Islay"; and "another hill, called Cnock-doun" (presumably in Islay) has a like history. But such "hills" are too numerous to mention in detail.

Owing to the great mass of earth which was heaped over the dwelling—the actual "kernel" of the mound—it will be seen that new-comers of another race from the mound-dwellers might build houses, or bury their dead, above the homes of the "little people", without being aware that the hill they were so utilising was entirely of artificial origin. Nor are there wanting illustrations of this, in fact and in tradition. Legendary lore, indeed, is full of incidents arising from the contact, often unexpected on the one side, of the

upper part of the mound was probably a hollow shaft, admitting light and air into the dwelling below, "carrying off the smoke of their fire", and occasionally serving as a way of ingress and egress.

two races; and many such tales reveal the mound-dwellers in a very homely light. The following story from the Hebridean island of Barra, for example :—

"There was a woman in Baile Thangasdail, and she was out seeking a couple of calves; and the night and lateness caught her, and there came rain and tempest, and she was seeking shelter. She went to a knoll with the couple of calves, and she was striking the tether peg into it. The knoll opened. She heard a gleegashing as if a pot-hook were clashing beside a pot. She took wonder, and she stopped striking the tether-peg. A woman put out her head and all above her middle, and she said, 'What business hast thou to be troubling this tulman in which I make my dwelling?' 'I am taking care of this couple of calves, and I am but weak. Where shall I go with them?' 'Thou shalt go with them to that breast down yonder. Thou wilt see a tuft of grass. If thy couple of calves eat that tuft of grass, thou wilt not be a day without a milk cow as long as thou art alive, because thou hast taken my counsel.'"[1]

This story exemplifies the well-known prophetic or "supernatural" powers of the dwarf races, while at the same time it presents the "fairy abode" to us in a very matter-of-fact light.

Of houses built upon the summit of the slope of a fairy hill, a modern instance is furnished by Hugh Miller, in his reminiscences of Sutherlandshire (*My Schools and Schoolmasters*, 1881 ed., p. 108), wherein he mentions that a cousin of his had built his house "half-way up the slope of a beautiful tomhan",[2] which was regarded as a fairy residence. This "tomhan" appears to have been near Lairg, and in "the Barony of Gruids".

Hugh Miller again points out a fairy locality, when referring to a boating excursion on Loch Maree, in 1823, on which occasion he learned from the boatman that one of the islands, *Eilean Suthainn*, was the annual rendezvous of the fairies, where they paid to their queen the yearly "kain" or tribute, due to "the Evil One". This reference is quoted by the author of *Gairloch*,[3] who also states :—

"In Gairloch we have Cathair Mhor and Cathair Bheag, names applied to several places; and the Sitheanan Dubha on Isle Ewe and on the North Point. There is Cathair Mhor at the head of Loch Maree, and Cathair Beag (the Gaelic name of the place) at Kerrysdale. These names mean respectively the big and little seats of the fairies. . . .

"The name Sitheanan Dubha signifies the black knowes or hillocks of the fairies. It is applied to two places in Gairloch, viz., to the highest hill-

[1] *West Highland Tales*, ii, 39.

[2] Cf. *tulman* in the preceding anecdote quoted above. See also *Archæological Review*, Oct. 1889, p. 197, note 1.

[3] Mr. J. H. Dixon, F.S.A.Scot. (See *Gairloch* Edin., 1886, pp. 159-61.)

tops at the north end of Isle Ewe, and to a low hill and small round loch a full mile due north of Carn Dearg house. . . ."

So numerous are the mounds that, owing to the traditions attaching to them, invite their own destruction at the hands of the archæologist, that only a limited number of them can be specified in these pages. Among these were, until recent years, two "fairy knowes", long known by that term in the adjoining countryside. They lie between the rivers Forth and Teith, about four miles to the south of Doune. One of them was broken into a good many years ago, and it is now known to antiquaries as "the Broch of Coldoch" (from the estate on which it is situated).[1] It appears to be one of those structures which form a connecting link between the open-air broch, such as that of Mousa, and the more visible "hill", such as Maes-how. It is circular in form, has the central chamber and three small chambers in the thickness of the wall; and the lower portion of a winding-stair, also in the wall, which shows it to be the remains of an inferior "Mousa". Its dimensions are like those of other "brochs", and these are such that, in this case, they evoked the remark from the writer's guide (a native of the district) that "it had never been built for men like him". This, indeed, is the remark that naturally falls from any visitor to such buildings; as the writer has noticed on several such occasions (nor can he forgot that one, at any rate, of his companions, in a recent visit to "the hidden places of the Fians and fairies" in the Valley of the Boyne, was debarred from inspecting these interesting works for the simple reason that the underground passage of entrance was so strait, in every way, that for him to worm himself along it, as all visitors must do, was a physical impossibility). The popular belief that such mounds were tenanted by dwarfs has no stronger testimony than the obvious fact that none but dwarfs would have thought of raising such structures; or could have properly utilised them, when erected. And although the most famous of the Boyne mounds just referred to has been styled "the firm mansion of the 'Dagda'", in ancient records, and, by a modern singer,

> "The Royal Brugh,
> By the dark-rolling waters of the Boyne,
> Where Angus Og magnificently dwells,"

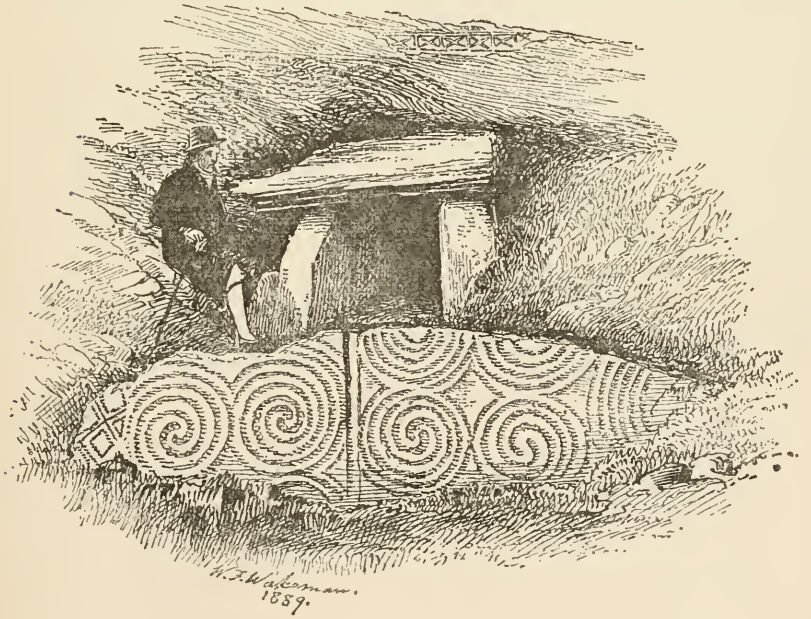
yet such a "mansion" would be a most impracticable kind of abode for men of the ordinary height of modern Europeans, if any such felt disposed to imitate the "magnificence" of Angus Og.

[1] This "fairy knowe" is described in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. v, and the *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, 1st Series, ix, 37-38.

Of this "Royal Brugh", already spoken of more than once in the course of these remarks, the outward appearance is represented below. The drawing has been reduced to a much smaller scale than that of Maes-how, but the Boyne mound is really much larger, and its interior structure is much ruder and more primitive, than in the case of the kindred mound in Orkney.

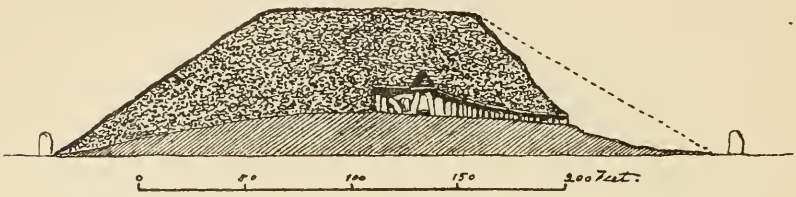


Slightly to the left of the two figures in the foreground may be discerned the doorway into the "hill". The following picture shows this doorway on a larger scale.

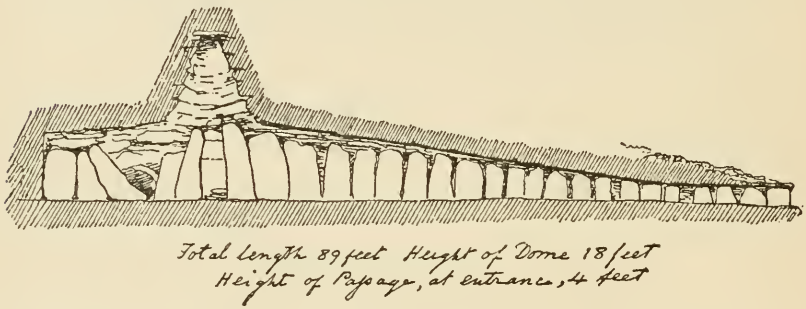


The (not too portly) explorer who enters this doorway and creeps, sometimes laterally, along the passage, at one point very

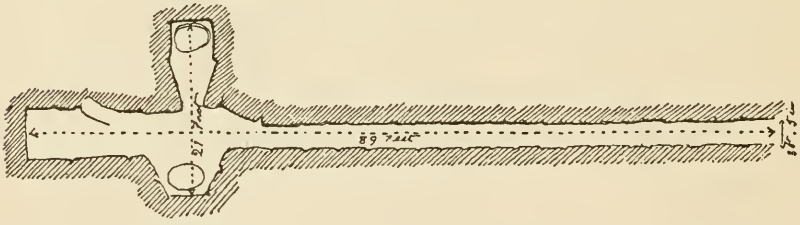
low and narrow, works his way at length into the comparatively large chamber that forms the main part of the structure. The relation which this passage and chamber bear to the mound which was heaped over them, will be seen from this transverse sectional view of the "hill":—



And the following shows the same structure, on a larger scale:—



while the ground-plan of this now subterranean building is portrayed below.



From all of which it will be seen that no modern European is likely to envy Angus Og the "magnificence" of his dwelling.

It ought to be pointed out that such a barrow as this "Brugh of the Boyne" belongs to the largest class of such structures, at present revealed to us. What may be taken as the average "fairy knowe" (for example, the Broch of Coldoch) is very much smaller. Therefore, when it is said that houses have, in all likelihood, been very frequently built upon such artificial eminences, without the

more modern builders being aware of their real nature, it is to be understood that the tumuli of the larger class are indicated. But, while it is probable that newer races very often built thus unconsciously upon the outer crust of the habitations of the mound-dwellers, it is still more likely that, in course of time, the central chamber of the mound became by slow degrees the dungeon of a fort or castle that had evolved itself from it. When a "how" of the larger class had been "broken" by invaders, and its inmates despoiled and killed or enslaved, their conquerors would quickly realise that this artificial mound, rising out of a level plain, formed an admirable site for a stronghold; and, indeed, that the only thing immediately necessary was to throw up a rampart round the top of the hill. To races who had no fancy for the subterranean manner of living, the strongholds of their predecessors would not suffice, although they would still prove very serviceable as cellars, or dungeons, or as forming a secret way of access to the castle which would eventually tower above them. Where the subject race was not exterminated, the former lord of the "broch" would still live on as the serf of his conqueror, and, on account of his physical peculiarities, he would be remembered as his master's "dwarf", or "brownie", while the women of his race, still claiming their inherited "supernatural" power, would constitute the prophetic half-dreaded "banshee" (*bean-sithe*, or fairy-woman) that foretold the destinies of the house of her over-lord. It is a significant fact that the possession of a family "banshee" in Ireland is restricted to those families who trace their descent from the Milesians (Scots), the conquerers of the Cruithné or Pechts. And we are told that, at one time, in Shetland, where the Pechts became the subject race, "almost every family had a *brownie* which served them."[1] Innumerable references of this kind might be given.

Such an example of a mediæval castle, the flower of a plant rooted in the interior of such a mound, may be recognised in Kenilworth. According to local tradition, the hill upon which Kenilworth Castle is built was once inhabited by fairies, who are remembered by the same characteristics as their kindred elsewhere. But the consideration of a Warwickshire mound might lead us too far away from the dwarfs more specially known as Picts or Pechts, and therefore it is better to continue as much as possible within the area already examined. It is enough to note that the Kenil-

[1] For such details see Scott's Introduction to *The Monastery*, etc., etc.; Brand's *Description of Zetland;* and Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary*, s.v. *Uruisg*.

worth dwarfs, in the days when their mound was merely a subterranean vault of the great castle overhead, and themselves nothing more than the "Redcaps" of the cellar (as in Mr. Campbell's story, *West Highland Tales*, i, xlvii), formed a marked contrast to the once dreaded "shag-boys" or mound-dwellers, as these are remembered in Lincolnshire tradition.[1]

However, if Kenilworth is too far south to be recognised as a home of the historical Pechts, Ancient Northumbria has not the same objection against it. And in East Lothian, which is a portion of that province, a certain Castle of Yester was once famous for its "Goblin Hall", which is thus described in the Appendix to *Marmion* (note 2 P):—

"*The Goblin Hall.*—A vaulted hall under the ancient castle of Gifford or Yester (for it bears either name indifferently), the construction of which has from a very remote period been ascribed to magic. 'Upon a peninsula, formed by the water of Hopes on the east, and a large rivulet on the west, stands the ancient castle of Yester. Sir David Dalrymple, in his annals, relates that "Hugh Gifford de Yester died in 1267; that in his castle there was a capacious cavern, formed by magical art, and called in the country Bo-Hall, *i.e.*, Hobgoblin Hall." A stair of twenty-four steps led down to this apartment, which is a large and spacious hall, with an arched roof. From the floor of this hall, another stair of thirty-six

[1] Although the dwarfs of central England may not rightly be considered under the name of Picts or Pechts, a chain connecting them with the people thus called is discernible. Scott says that "according to romantic tradition", Kenilworth "had been first tenanted" by "those primitive Britons" who were "the soldiers of King Arthur" (*Kenilworth*, ch. xxvi). Thus, the early inhabitants of Kenilworth are equally "fairies" and "primitive Britons". Again, in Glamorganshire (according to Mr. Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, pp. 6 and 392), there is "a certain steep and rugged crag" which bears "a distinctly awful reputation as a stronghold of the fairy tribe", and, in a secret cavern underneath this crag, "Arthur and his warriors" are believed to be sleeping. While an Edinburgh tradition, given by Dr. Daniel Wilson (*Memorials*, vol. ii, ch. xix), states that "King Arthur and the Pechts" have also withdrawn to a subterranean retreat in the hill which is still known as Arthur's Seat. Obviously, Arthur, if he ever lived, cannot have retired into all of these places, but there is nevertheless a vague agreement in these three traditions; and Kenilworth, Arthur's Seat, and Craig y Ddinas all testify to an identification of Arthur and his "primitive Britons" with the underground "fairies" and "Pechts". It may be objected that the tradition of Barbarossa, as in Rückert's ballad, asleep in his underground castle, with his dwarf beside him, is evidently of the same origin as those just referred to. This is manifest. But, before attempting to reconcile Continental with British tradition, it is important to first demonstrate, if that may be done, that the British traditions here spoken of are *historical* and not *mythological*. (The story of the Kenilworth fairies will be found at p. 218 of *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*, by B. C. Smart and H. T. Crofton, London, 1875.)

steps leads down to a pit which hath a communication with Hopes-water'"

In this instance, the "pit" which communicated with the neighbouring stream was probably the original underground dwelling; and if the arch of the "vaulted hall" above it is not of the "Pelasgic" order, it is to be presumed that the "goblins"[1] who built it had received fresh ideas from a race possessed of a more advanced civilisation.

The Castle of Doune, in Perthshire, is another probable instance of the mediæval castle evolved from the primitive mound. What is nowadays known as the castle of "Doune", was formerly spoken of as "The Dùn (or Doon) of Menteith". "Doune (Dun), no doubt, had once, where its castle now stands, an ancient fortress: but the name is all that now remains to bespeak it", says a lady-writer on this subject.[2] It is very probable, therefore, that the original "Doon of Menteith" was the mound upon which the present building now stands; and that this was at one time the chief stronghold of the district of Menteith. One *doon*, which has apparently never advanced from its earliest stage, is that of Rothiemurchus, in the district of Badenoch (Inverness-shire). "A mound which has every appearance of having been used in ancient times for purposes of defence stands at the Doun of Rothimurcus, and is properly the *Doune*, or *Dun*", says a modern historian of that district.[3] Such a structure as this seems to combine the dwelling and the fort; the "hollow hill" having presumably been so constructed as to render the "crater" on its summit a place of defence. That this Doon of

[1] It is impossible to refer here to the many terms used to denote what is really one class of people; as these terms themselves show when analysed. But this term "goblin", although in recent centuries it has been surrounded with much that is unreal and fictitious, appears to have been once used in the most ordinary matter-of-fact way. This will be seen from the following reference quoted by Dr. Henry Rink (*Danish Greenland*, 1877, p. 16), in the narrative of a Norse visit to Greenland in the eleventh century:—"One morning Thorgils went out by himself on the ice, and discovered the carcase of a whale in an opening, and beside two 'witches' (or 'goblins', evidently Eskimo women), who were tying large bundles of flesh together. Thorgils instantly rushed upon one of them with his sword and cut off one of her hands, whereupon both of them took to their heels." In other words, the eleventh century natives of Greenland, whom Dr. Rink believes were Eskimos, were at once classed by a Norwegian of that period in the same category as those whom he had been accustomed to call "goblins" in Europe.

[2] Miss C. MacLagan, *Proc. of Soc. of Ant. of Scot.* (1st Series), ix, 39.

[3] A. Mackintosh Shaw, *History of the Mackintoshes*, 1880, vol. i, p. 24, *note*. This writer also points out that the word "Rothimurcus" itself indicates a "fortified mound" or *Rath*.

Rothiemurchus was once inhabited seems clearly indicated. In speaking of the *bean-sithe*, or fairy woman, already referred to as the appanage of old Milesian families, Sir Walter Scott states that "most great families in the Highlands" were thus distinguished, and that "Grant of Rothiemurcus had an attendant called *Bodach-an-dùn*";[1] in other words, "The Goblin of the Doon". And when Scott states, in the *note* immediately preceding that just quoted, that "a goblin, dressed in antique armour, and having one hand covered with blood, called from that circumstance *Lamh-dearg*, or Red-hand, is a tenant of the forests of Glenmore and Rothiemurcus", he indicates a tradition that seems to be connected with the "goblins" of the Doon of Rothiemurchus.[2]

However, although referred to in passing, the Rothiemurchus mound is not one of those on which a stone castle has been subsequently reared. But of the latter class an example is furnished by the "Castle Hill" of Clunie, in Perthshire. It is thus described in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account*:—

"On the western shore of the loch of Clunie stands the old castle-hill, a large, green mound, partly natural and partly artificial, on the top of which are the ruins of a very old building. Some aged persons still alive [in the end of last century] remember to have seen a small aperture, now invisible, at the edge of one of the fragments of the ruins, where, if a stone was thrown in, it was heard for some time, as if rolling down a stair-case. From this it seems probable that were a section of the hill to be made, some curious discoveries might be the consequence."

Resembling Fierna's Hillock, near Limerick, in its having this "small aperture", communicating with an unexplored vault below, this Perthshire mound is also celebrated, like Knock-Fierna, for its association with the "fairies". The castle which once crowned its summit has more historical memories.

Of this castle, in which, it is said, King Edward I of England passed a night, in the course of his triumphant progress through Scotland in 1296, nothing now remains. But a tradition relating to an earlier period asserts that this place was once a hunting-seat of Kenneth MacAlpin, the ninth-century conqueror of the Picts (whose king he subsequently became). Although Kenneth, and his son after him, bore the title of "King of the Picts", it is tolerably clear that he was a Scot or Milesian by race, and it is certain that he broke up the power of the Pechts in Central Scotland. As he was not one of this latter race himself, it is probable that any

[1] Appendix to *The Lady of the Lake*, note 2 H.

[2] See also *West Highland Tales*, ii, 66, for a reference to this personage.

"hunting-seat" possessed by him at this place took the shape of an above-ground building, and that therefore the memories of the "supernatural" inhabitants of this mound date back to the time when it was still an unconquered stronghold of the Pechts. As, however, the suggested "section of the hill" has never yet been made, nothing definite is at present known regarding the interior of this mound.

One of the incidents relating to the "goblin" of Rothiemurchus is included by Mr. J. F. Campbell among the traditions obtained by him from the district of Badenoch, in Inverness-shire. "The Badenoch account of the fairies" is stated to be "much the same" as those from other parts of the Highlands, and they show "that according to popular belief, fairies commonly carried off men, women, and children, who seemed to die, but really lived underground." A tale of this kind, "now commonly believed in Badenoch", is to this effect:—A man who, returning home after a short absence, found that his wife had disappeared and that another woman had taken her place, demanded from the latter, on pain of death, to tell him where his wife had been conveyed to. "She told him that his wife had been carried to Cnoc Fraing, a mountain on the borders of Badenoch and Strathdearn." "The man went to Cnoc Fraing. He was suspected before of having something supernatural about him; and he soon found the fairies, who told him his wife had been taken to Shiathan Mor, a neighbouring mountain. He went there and was sent to Tom na Shirich, near Inverness. There he went, and at the 'Fairy Knoll' found his wife and brought her back."[1]

Mr. Campbell adds that "the person who related this story pretended to have seen people who knew distant descendants of the woman"—but beyond indicating that the tradition is very old, this does not place these events in any particular century. The localities named, however, are full of suggestiveness. Of *Cnoc Fraing*, nothing is known to the present writer. But "Shiathan Mor", to which the woman is said to have been first taken, signifies "The Great Hill of the Fairies". Such a name is of very frequent occurrence in the Highlands. One who is well versed in these matters says: "There is perhaps not a hamlet or township in the Highlands or Hebrides without its *shian* or green fairy knoll so called. Within half-a-mile of our own residence, for example, there is a *Sithean Beag* and a *Sithean Mor*, a Lesser and Greater Fairy Knoll."[2] In

[1] *West Highland Tales*, ii, 67.

[2] Rev. Alex. Stewart, F.S.A.Scot., in *Nether Lochaber*, Edin., 1883, p. 20.

the Hebridean island of Colonsay, where Martin, the eighteenth century traveller, found that "the natives have a tradition among them of a very little generation of people that lived once here, called Lusbirdan, the same with pigmies", one finds a "Sheean Mòr" and a "Sheean Beg", along with many other traces of those people.[1] But it is unnecessary to multiply special instances. It was to a Great Knoll of the Fairies, then, that the woman was taken, and thereafter to "Tom na Shirich, near Inverness". This name also signifies "Hill of the Fairies". *Shirich*, more correctly *Sibhreach*, is apparently a less common form, equivalent to Sidh-fear, Duine Sith, etc., but it occurs more than once in the *West Highland Tales*,[2] both as a singular and a plural. When the initial "s" of *sibhreach*, or *sithreach*, becomes aspirated, after the common Gaelic fashion, the sibilant is no longer heard; and this is exemplified in the case of "Tom na Shirich", which is nowadays spelt as it is pronounced, *Tomnahurich* (or *Tomnaheurich*, etc.).[3] Of this Inverness hill much has been written.

It is sometimes called *Tomman-heurich*, and spoken of as a *tomman*, which connects it with the word *tulman* or *tolman*, already referred to. Hugh Miller, in speaking of "that Queen of Scottish tomhans, the picturesque Tomnahuirich", employs both forms at the same time, which is contradictory. Pennant, who visited it last century, refers to it also as a *tomman*. In his *Tour*, he thus describes "the strange shaped hill of Tomman heurich":—

"The Tomman is of an oblong form, broad at the base, and sloping on all sides towards the top; so that it looks like a ship with its keel upwards. It is perfectly detached from any other hill; and if it was not for its great size, might pass for a work of art." "Its length at top [is] about 300 yards; I neglected measuring the base or the height, which are both considerable; the breadth of the top [is] only 20 yards."

Captain Burt, in his *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland* (Letter XII), speaks of it as follows:—

"About a mile westward from the town [Inverness], there rises, out of a perfect flat, a very regular hill; whether natural or artificial, I could never

He adds: "There is, besides, a *Glacan-t' Shithein*, the Fairy Knoll Glade; *Tobaran-t' Shithein*, the Fairy Knoll Well; and a deep chasm, through which a mountain torrent plunges darkling, called *Leum-an-t' Shithiehe*, the Fairy Leap."

[1] See *Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, 1880-81, p. 113 *et seq.*

[2] See vol. ii, pp. 48 and 52. The latter page mentions a "*Ruadh na Sirach*, the fairies' point", in the island of Kerrera, near Oban.

[3] Similarly, a "Fairy Loch" in Argyleshire is spelt *Loch na Hurich*, and a like example is that of *Glennahuirich*, in Nether Lochaber.

find by any tradition ; the natives call it *tommanheurach.* It is almost in the shape of a Thames wherry, turned keel upwards, for which reason they sometimes call it Noah's Ark. The length of it is about four hundred yards, and the breadth at bottom about one hundred and fifty. From below, at every point of view, it seems to end at top in a narrow ridge ; but when you are there, you find a plain large enough to draw up two or three battalions of men. Hither we sometimes retire on a summer's evening. But this is not the only reason why I speak of this hill ; it is the weak credulity with which it is attended, that led me to this detail ; for as anything, ever so little extraordinary, may serve as a foundation (to such as are ignorant, heedless, or interested) for ridiculous stories and imaginations, so the fairies within it are innumerable, and witches find it the most convenient place for their frolics and gambols in the night time."

Now, if this large hill, which "might pass for a work of art", was really, as tradition states, the residence of the little people known as dwarfs or Pechts, it was clearly an important seat of those people. And, on regarding them from the historian's point of view, one finds that this district was specially so distinguished. "When we can first venture to regard the list of the Pictish kings preserved in the *Pictish Chronicle* as having some claim to a historical character, we find the king having his seat apparently in Forfarshire ; but when the works of Adamnan and Bede place us upon firm ground, the monarch belonged to the race of the Northern Picts, and had his fortified residence near the mouth of the river Ness" [Inver-Ness]. And the same historian again observes : "Adamnan, writing in the seventh century, tells us of the fortified residence of the king of the Picts on the banks of the river Ness, with its royal house and gates, of a village on the banks of a lake, and of the houses of the country people."[1]

Hitherto, the place which has been regarded as most likely the site of this seventh-century stronghold, is the vitrified fort which crowns the summit of Craig Patrick (or *Creag Phadruig*), a hill not far from Inverness. But the top of a hill fully eleven hundred feet high can scarcely be referred to as a situation "on the banks of the river Ness", from which river it is, moreover, two or three miles distant. The situation of Tomnahurich, on the other hand, does exactly answer to the description given. And this "hill", whose peculiar appearance has attracted the attention of several travellers, is locally remembered as a celebrated home of the "Pechts". Nor is it necessary to confine oneself to the consideration of this hill alone. Adamnan speaks not only of a royal residence, but also of

[1] See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 232 ; and iii, 10.

"the houses of the country people". "The country people" of whom he speaks were Pechts, and their "houses", of course, were "Pechts' houses"; "houses" such as the Fairy Knowe unearthed at Coldoch, near Doune, already referred to. In other words *sheeans*. Now, when Hugh Miller speaks of "that Queen of Scottish tomhans, the picturesque Tomnahuirich", he states that it belongs to "a wonderful group" of similar mounds "in the immediate neighbourhood of Inverness". The "houses" of the mound-dwelling Pechts had one admirable characteristic: they were almost indestructible. If the King of the Dwarfs had his residence at Inverness during the seventh century, with "the houses of the country people", of the same race, scattered all through the immediate neighbourhood, their dwellings must be there still: and anyone who wanted to localise them would naturally turn to such mounds as the "wonderful groups" of "tomhans" of which Hugh Miller speaks.[1]

Inverness, however, was not the only important centre of Pictish power. Among others, there was Abernethy, a few miles south-east of Perth. And at this place, says Small, in his *Roman Antiquities of Fife*, the spot wherein the treasures of the Pictish king are believed to be hidden[2] was guarded by a *droughy* (*droich* or *trow*) who fiercely assailed any invader. Of the Pechts in that neighbourhood there are many traditions.

A few miles to the west of Abernethy is Forteviot, where Kenneth MacAlpin, the conqueror and ruler of the Pechts, died in the latter part of the ninth century. Prior to the successful invasion of Kenneth's race, this district—like that of Abernethy and all the country north to Inverness—had been inhabited by Pechts: and Forteviot is stated to have been a seat of Pictish royalty. Some miles to the south-west of Forteviot there is a hill called Ternavie, which has characteristics similar to those of Tomnahuirich. "Ter-

[1] Hugh Miller, although he confesses himself puzzled as to their origin, undoubtedly regarded those "tomhans" as entirely natural. And if it should appear that he was mistaken, there would, in that event, be a new question opened up; because of the peculiar characteristics of what he knew as "tomhans".

It is an unfortunate circumstance that any practical attempt at testing the accuracy of the local tradition regarding Tomnahurich itself is out of the question, owing to the fact that for many years its exterior has been used as a burying-ground—as more than one "hollow hill" is known to have been. But "the houses of the country people" would afford a sufficient test.

[2] A kettle of gold is specially mentioned, and in the "hidden places" of the fairies of White Cater Thun, near Brechin, a kettle of gold is also believed to be concealed.

navie has been pronounced 'the most remarkable spot in this parish or neighbourhood'. It is a hill or mound of earth, of a very curious form, occupying, when the Old Statistical Account was written, 'many acres of ground, covered with a fine sward of grass, and striking the eye at a distance of several miles. It resembles in shape the keel of a ship inverted.'" And local tradition asserts, says the writer quoted from,[1] that once upon a time, a countryman attempting to obtain turf on the side of this hill, was suddenly confronted by an old man who emerged from the hill, "and with an angry countenance and tone of voice asked the countryman why he was tirring (uncovering) his house over his head?" This story does not say that the mound-dweller was a dwarf, but here we have a hill whose appearance suggests that it is at least partly artificial, and local tradition alleges that it was once inhabited. And this in the heart of Pictavia, or the country of the Pechts.

In the same county, but farther to the west, there is a locality which is remembered, like the island on the Ross-shire loch, as a gathering-place or rendezvous of the little people. It is situated in the valley of the Forth. The "Fairy Knowes" of Coldoch have already been spoken of. One of them, it was stated, has been opened, and its interior shows to the most sceptical that the tradition which told that it was a home of the dwarfs was absolutely correct. The other "knowe", some hundreds of yards distant, has not as yet been touched.[2] But that it, too, was a dwelling of the same "little people" is almost as certain as if the spade of the excavator had already done its work.

But the gathering-place referred to lies nearer the sources of the Forth than the "Fairy Knowe" of Coldoch and the Doune of Menteith. Like these places, it is situated in the district of Menteith, and beside the lake of that name, on its south-eastern shore. This hillock is known as *Cnoc nam Bocan*, or the Knowe of the Goblins, and we are told that it used to be "the headquarters of the fairies of the whole district of Menteith". These fairies, it is

[1] Dr. Marshall, *Historic Scenes in Perthshire*, Edinburgh, 1880, p. 263.

[2] Owing, I believe, to the fact that it is on a different estate. The following remarks by Mr. T. N. Deane, in his paper on the "hollow hills" of Knowth and Dowth, in the Boyne valley (*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dec. 1888, p. 164), may be aptly quoted here:— "For many years it has been the desire of antiquaries to explore Knowth, but I regret to say the owner is unwilling to permit a search being made. I am in great hopes that when it is fully understood that the vesting of a monument does not involve an infringement of territorial rights the difficulty will be overcome, and monuments now neglected will be placed under supervision."

said, were employed as the drudges of a former Earl of Menteith, in making the small peninsula known as Arnmauk, which juts out from the southern shore of the lake towards the small island of Inchmahome. The Earl, we are told, "in grateful acknowledgment of the work they had done in forming the peninsula, and wishing to be on good terms with them, made a grant to them of the north shoulder of Ben Venue; which is to this day called Coir-n'an-Uriskin, that is, the Cove of the Urisks or Fairies."[1] At this latter place, says another writer,[2] "the solemn stated meetings of the order were regularly held"; presumably at a later date.

However, "the north shoulder of Ben Venue" ought probably to be regarded as the latest "reservation" accorded to the little people. For, among the many "knowes" in the district of Menteith which are claimed as the homes of those people, there is one pre-eminently distinguished. Some miles to the west of the Lake of Menteith is the village of Aberfoyle, celebrated by Sir Walter Scott, who says of this locality: "The lakes and precipices amidst which the Avon Dhu [*Abhainn Dubh; i.e.*, Black-Water], or River Forth, has its birth, are still, according to popular tradition, haunted by the Elfin people. An eminently beautiful little conical hill, near the eastern extremity of the valley of Aberfoil, is supposed to be one of their peculiar haunts, and is the scene which awakens in Andrew Fairservice[3] the terror of their power." The passage in *Rob Roy* to which Scott here refers is as follows:—

"A beautiful eminence of the most regular round shape, and clothed with copsewood of hazels, mountain-ash, and dwarf-oak, intermixed with a few magnificent old trees, which, rising above the underwood, exposed their forked and bared branches to the silver moonshine, seemed to protect the sources from which the river sprung. If I could trust the tale of my companion, which, while professing to disbelieve every word of it, he told under his breath, and with an air of something like intimidation, this hill, so regularly formed, so richly verdant, and garlanded with such a beautiful variety of ancient trees and thriving copsewood, was held by the neighbourhood to contain, within its unseen caverns, the palaces of the fairies—a race of airy beings, who formed an intermediate class between men and demons, and who, if not positively malignant to humanity, were yet to be avoided and feared, on account of their capricious, vindictive, and irritable disposition.

"'They ca' them,' said Mr. Jarvie, in a whisper, '*Daoine Schie*—

[1] Marshall's *Historic Scenes in Perthshire*, pp. 383-84.

[2] Dr. Graham, *Sketches of the Picturesque Scenery of Perthshire*, Edinburgh, 1806, p. 19.

[3] A slip of Scott's for "Bailie Nicol Jarvie".

whilk signifies, as I understand, men of peace; meaning thereby to make their gudewill. And we may e'en as weel ca' them that too, Mr. Osbaldistone, for there's nae gude in speaking ill o' the laird within his ain bounds.' But he added presently after, on seeing one or two lights which twinkled before us, 'It's deceits o' Satan, after a', and I fearna to say it—for we are near the manse now, and yonder are the lights in the Clachan of Aberfoil.'"[1]

To describe this as a "*little, conical* hill", as Scott does, is misleading. When viewed transversely, from the opposite bank of the Blackwater, it has a conical appearance, certainly, as the gable of a roof has. But when its true length is seen, as when viewed from the west, this Fairy Knowe of Aberfoyle reveals itself as of the "hog-back" order, or as was said of Tomnaheurich, like a "Thames wherry, turned keel upwards". And as for its height, neither Scott's "little" nor its local name of "Fairy *Knowe*" gives anything like a true idea of its dimensions. How much of this "knowe" is artificial, or whether *any* of it is, remains to be discovered. But if it and Tomnaheurich have truly had the origin that tradition assigns to them, then they belong to a class of "hollow hills" which are as much greater than New Grange ("the Brugh of the Boyne") as New Grange is greater than Maes-how, or Maes-how than the Broch of Coldoch. Such a mound as Maes-how may be held to represent the ordinary Pecht's House or Fairy Hillock; a structure which, though of artifical origin, may be correctly styled a hillock. But New Grange is a "hill", not a "hillock". What limits the mound-builders set themselves is not known. But the people who were capable of the ideas and the labour implied in such a structure as "the Brugh of the Boyne" might as well have reared mounds that were two or three times its size.

This Fairy Knowe is not only known locally by that name, but also as the Doon,[2] or Doon Hill. If that implies that it was a fortification, the site was perfect. Protected on its north-eastern side by the river, and on the south-west by its own almost precipitous rampart, the Doon of Aberfoyle stands like a sentinel at what is there called "The Gate of the Highlands". The little valley which it protects teems with traditions of the dwarfs who are said to have once dwelt there, and whose dwellings are yet pointed out. Even yet the old people have many a tale of how the ruling family

[1] See *Rob Roy*, chap. xxviii, and Note G.

[2] This spelling is only tentative. On hearing it thus pronounced, a resident in that district corrected the pronunciation to *Doo'n*, or *Doo'an*, which may signify a quite different meaning from *Dún*.

of Graham won their possessions there ; and one such tale is that which has just been spoken of, wherein a Graham (Earl of Menteith) appears as the overlord of the dwarfs. That this family, properly *de* Graeme, traces its origin to those Anglo-Normans, such as Bruce and his chief nobles, who were the founders of the Neo-Scottish kingdom, is quite compatible with the idea that De Graeme's dwarfish labourers were, historically, Picts ; a race distinguished as the allies of the English and the enemies of Bruce.

Enough has now been said to illustrate what is really the test of the "realistic" theory of the fairy tales. Tradition has truly stated, during many generations, that such apparently-natural hillocks as Maes-how and Coldoch were inhabited by little people. All archæologists are agreed that many artificial hillocks are at present standing with their secrets unrevealed. But if, by following the lead of tradition, we find it a reasonably safe[1] guide to those primitive habitations, then its statements must deserve a much fuller and more serious consideration than they have ever yet received. Either the "realistic theory" is a vain imagination (as it is believed to be by those who take the "mythological" view of such traditions), or else it is something of the very greatest importance ; as others, of whom the present writer is one, believe it to be. Should this method of interpreting the past be proved a true one, the results which would flow from its acceptance would be far-reaching indeed. But tradition has yet to establish its right to be unquestionably regarded as a guide. It may be that every chambered mound already opened had long had its real nature foretold by the voice of local tradition. But the surest test of the authenticity of tradition lies in its future application. It is known to all archæologists in Western Europe that it is not necessary to go so far east as Mycenæ to find the chambered mound, with its dry-stone walls and "Pelasgic" arch. And tradition points to many a seeming "hillock",[2] and says that it, too, is a "treasure-house of Atreus".

[1] One would like to regard tradition as infallible in this respect. But, unfortunately, the age of the "sheeans" is so far back, that the term may now be used to denote any "conical hill", by Gaelic-speaking persons. However, a strong and persistent local tradition would far outweigh this modern misuse of the term *sithean*, in its general application, if such misuse (of which the dictionaries give a hint) is really common.

[2] The Continental examples are, of course, very numerous. In Denmark alone, according to J. M. Thiele, tradition points out as chambered mounds 'two hills, Mangelbierg and Gillesbierg, in the environs of Hirschholm, on Hösterkiöb Mark": "a hill called Wheel-hill, at Gudmandstrup, in the Lordship of Odd": "a large knoll called Steensbierg, at Ouröe, near Joegerspriis": "the high ridge on which the church stands, at Kundebye, in the Bailiewick of

The question to be decided is, How far is tradition to be trusted? And the answer can be very easily obtained.

Holbeck"; and, in the same bailiewick, at a place between the towns of Mamp and Aagerup, "near the Strand": Gultebierg also supplies another to the list: while "between Jerslöse and Söbierg, lies Söbierg bank, which is the richest knoll in the land." (For similar references in this neighbourhood, see also Mr. W. G. Black's *Heligoland.*) And Thorpe's *Northern Mythology* specifies many such mounds. M. Pol de Mont (in his Flemish *Volkskunde*, II, v, pp. 89-90) points out an "Aschberg", at Casterlé, in the province of Antwerp, which is said to have held fifty *bergmannetjes*, or hill-dwarfs. But every Continental "Venusberg", into which men of the taller race were tempted by the attractions of the dwarf women, and every "berg" that is affirmed to have been the residence of a "berg-fee", comes under the same denomination as the special examples already cited.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

THE CONDITIONS FOR THE SURVIVAL OF ARCHAIC CUSTOM.

THERE are, or were until quite recently, a great many customs observed in our rural parishes and in the less frequented portions of the country, the origin of which is not known to those who practise them. If a question were asked as to why these customs were observed on particular occasions or for particular objects, the almost invariable answer would have been, because they have always been observed.

In recent years it has been well recognised that it is worth studying these customs of unknown origin. As a consequence of such study one very important characteristic of local customs has been satisfactorily established, namely, that the vast majority of them are of considerable antiquity. As Edmund Spenser puts it in his remarkable account of Elizabethan Ireland, "It is the maner of many nations to be very superstitious and diligent observers of old customes and antiquities which they receive by continuous tradition from their parents, by recording of their bards and chroniclers, in their songs, and by daylie use and ensample of their elders."[1] This element of *continuous tradition*, spoken of by the celebrated poet, is the means by which very many modern observances of custom are proved to be survivals in practice of archaic custom; that is, while the act of constant observance is modern, in the sense that it is carried on in modern days, the actual custom which is the object of the act of constant observance is ancient. From this it will be seen that every custom may be divided, for purposes of scientific research, into two parts, each distinct from the other, namely, its observance at certain times or in certain places, and its form and characteristics.

Now, this proposition being accepted, it is not sufficient to collect together all the different local customs in various parts of the country, and to say that such a collection would represent the customs of the people in very early times, and that hence we have before us a picture of the life and condition of the earliest inhabitants of this country. Very much more than this is needed.

[1] Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 100.

In the first place, three different race-elements enter into the composition of our modern population—the Iberic, the Celtic, and the Teutonic ; besides which there are the Roman and Norman conquests, and all these must have influenced existing custom and introduced new custom. In the second place, custom which is now local was, if its origin can be taken beyond the political stage, in its earliest form tribal. In order, then, to satisfy ourselves of the identification of living custom with the custom of early ages, or, as I shall speak of it throughout these pages, archaic custom, we must trace back its genealogy in our own land as far as it will go ; we must compare it with the tribal practice of the non-advanced races ; and we must endeavour to find out whether its survival in any particular district, or in any particular form, helps to identify it as a descendant from a tribe or race which are known to have inhabited the district. It will not always be possible to carry out these requirements thoroughly, and links in the chain of argument will frequently be wanting. The very nature of survivals prepares us for such a contingency. But in such cases there are other considerations which will help us to the end in view ; and I would make the preliminary suggestion that it is worth while to state the case for even some incomplete examples, because we never know when, or how, independent inquiry may produce the very evidence which is wanting, if students have been made aware of some of the requirements which science demands at their hands.

A very considerable body of modern rural custom, relating to agricultural matters, has been identified as belonging to the primitive system of agricultural economy represented by the village community. When villagers of modern England have been discovered to assemble in their village court under a tree, by the side of a prehistoric monolith, on the top of an earthen mound, for the purpose of deciding the course of agriculture, the admittance of a new villager, the allotment of village lands, the election of officers ; when their methods of agriculture demand a yearly redistribution of lands by a quaint system of lots formed in various fashions from the twigs of certain trees or cut into the soft structure of an apple ; when their several duties to neighbour and community can only be expressed by the term communal ; when numerous incidental practices relating to these features of agricultural life have been noted, it is not surprising that the first attempt to identify living custom as the legitimate descendant of archaic custom should have resulted in its identification with the economical customs of the village community. But the self-same villagers who have thus

been proved to have brought down by traditional usage the customs of the primitive village community practise a vast number of other customs, often at the same time and in connection with the same agricultural events. *Primâ facie*, therefore, it seems proper to advance the argument that these coexisting customs come down from the same primitive original. But the present state of our knowledge does not enable us to rearrange the whole group of living custom with reference to its original home, to trace out the genealogy of each item of popular custom with the same precision as it is possible to trace out the genealogy of a word ; and, therefore, studies in archaic custom do not attempt to unravel any particular stage of social development, but are more or less explanatory of totally different stages, often separated by wide periods of historic life. That the interstices may be filled up eventually by different scholars and by different methods is what I firmly believe. In the meantime there is one conclusion to which I may claim that researches into archaic custom constantly and consistently direct attention, namely, that the school of historical thought who would have us seek for the origin of our institutions in mediæval times, or in the highly developed institutions of the Roman empire, must account for the survival of the barbaric and even savage practices not in isolated and insignificant examples, but in sufficient force to have stamped themselves so strongly upon the history of the country as to demand an explanation of their presence. If Mr. Seebohm, dealing only with agricultural practices, identifies these with a state of things which was produced by Roman influences, to my mind it does not follow as a logical sequence that the English village community is of Roman origin. The English village community, like the village communities elsewhere, is made up of other elements in its structural formation than agricultural economy. If these other elements take us not to Roman institutions but to barbaric institutions, it is certainly a strong argument against considering that the origin of the English village community must be relegated to the Roman period, especially when we further consider that many of the agricultural practices which Mr. Seebohm has identified with Roman or Romano-barbaric practices are also to be identified as features of the primitive village community in places where there cannot be any question of its contact with Roman institutions. Accordingly, I would submit that the evidence of the survival of archaic customs is weighty enough to bid pause to those who argue that the early history of English institutions is either a continuation, under a new title, of the

history of Roman institutions, or is an offshoot from mediæval history.

In some papers which have already appeared in these pages we have dealt with the evidences of rude modes of reckoning kinship and rude forms of marriage, suggesting that in the customs of this country may be traced many of the practices of savage ancestors. To many readers such propositions are sufficiently startling to be at once dismissed as impossible, unless we can show good cause for the existence of savage ancestors. By a few scholars, Canon Isaac Taylor, Mr. Seebohm, M. de Coulanges, and others, any attempt which has been made to suggest that traces of totemism, polyandry, and other rude forms of tribal institutions can be found in modern custom, has been denounced not only as unproven but as unprovable. It seems desirable, therefore, to preface research into particular customs by some notice of the facts which show under what circumstances, and with what section of the people, these remnants of savage ancestry may have been kept up. That a period of savagery once existed in this country, as in all other lands, is not, I believe, seriously questioned. The only unsettled point is to what extent and for how long this period of savagery may have lasted. Those who believe in a highly developed Celtic civilisation throw back this period of savagery to a very far-off date, and draw a rigid line beyond which its influence could not have penetrated into succeeding ages. They see in a few passages from Cæsar, in the more than half-invented stories of Druidism, in the remains of early Christian Celtic art, evidence of a Celtic civilisation which had absorbed, or rather replaced, and utterly wiped out the older savagedom. But if the most recent of all historical sciences, namely, folk-lore, has done nothing else up to this date, it has demonstrated that civilisation under many of its phases, while elevating the governing class of a nation, and thereby no doubt elevating the nation, does not always reach the lowest or even the lower strata of the population. As Sir Arthur Mitchell puts it, "there is always a going up of some and a going down of others", and it is more than probable that just as the going up of the few is in one certain direction along certain well-ascertained lines of improvement or development, so the going down of the many is in an equally certain direction and along an equally well-ascertained line of degradation or backwardness. The upward march is always towards political improvement, carrying with it social development; the downward march is always towards social degradation, carrying with it political backwardness. It seems

difficult indeed to believe that monarchs like Ælfred, Eadward, William, and Edward could have had within their Christianised kingdom groups of people whose status was still that of savagery; it seems difficult to believe that Raleigh and Spenser actually beheld some specimens of the Irish savage; it seems impossible to read Kemble and Green and Freeman, and yet to understand that they are speaking only of the advanced guard of the English nation, not of the backward races within the boundary of its island home. The student of archaic custom has, however, to meet these difficulties, and it seems necessary, therefore, to try and arrive at some idea as to what the period of savagery in these islands really means.

For this object it will be necessary to requote some well-known passages from classical authorities, and to compare them with the statements of later writers. Many of the passages have been bitterly assailed, but it will do no good at this juncture to turn to questions of textual criticism, or to evidences of personal credence attachable to each authority. These will be met by other methods: first, by the fact that the early recorded evidences of savage practices in Britain do not supply any customs but what are to be paralleled among savage practices elsewhere than in Britain or in Europe; and it is impossible to believe that human ingenuity could be charged with such a phenomenon as the invention by different authors, at different times, of a whole group of customs which have their analogues in actual life, and there is no room in these cases for the borrowing theory; secondly, by the fact that later custom, recorded by witnesses whose veracity is beyond question, fits in exactly with what has been recorded in earlier times. It is, indeed, the correlation of these two bodies of custom which forms the best and surest test of the value of researches like the present.

In gathering together some evidence which will illustrate the duration of the period of savagery in these islands, it will not be necessary to produce a long array of savage practices in Britain, because some of the most significant of these have already been considered in connection with distinct phases of archaic custom, such as totemism and polyandry. The main thing to bring into relief, for our present limited purpose, is that any definite set of customs, however barbarous they may appear, however far back their genealogy may take us, have a *raison d'être* for their long continuance in the long continuance of the status of savagery in some parts of the country; that if these sets of customs tell us of the condition of

our savage ancestors in one particular or another, more perfect, perhaps, because of their connection with tribal institutions, there are other customs which tell us of other particulars of the savage state, less perfect, perhaps, because of their connection with domestic arts and usages.

Ancient authorities speak of Ireland as the abode of savages pure and simple, and we need not accept literally their descriptions of the condition of the people in order to arrive at a fairly just estimate of the savage state of society. Diodorus alludes to the Britons who inhabit Irin as cannibals (lib. v). Strabo (iv) says of Hibernia that "its inhabitants are wilder than the Britons, and that they feed on human flesh and devour a large quantity of food, and deem it honourable to eat the bodies of their deceased parents, and to cohabit publicly, not only with other women, but also with their mothers and sisters." Pomponius Mela says "that they are ignorant of every virtue". Solinus says of Hibernia, "It is inhuman in the rough manners of its inhabitants, who are inhospitable and warlike, the conquerors in any contest first drinking the blood of their enemies and then besmearing their faces therewith. Whenever a woman brings forth a male child she puts his first food on the sword of her husband, and lightly introduces the first 'auspicium' of nourishment into his mouth with the point of the sword, and expresses a wish that he may never meet death otherwise than in war and amid arms. They sail in wicker vessels, which they cover all round with ox-hides." The charge of cannibalism is repeated by St. Jerome, who in his second book against Jovinian says, "Quid loquar de cæteris nationibus, cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Scotos gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus? et cum per sylvas porcorum greges et armentorum pecudumque reperirent, pastorum nates fœminarumque papillas abscindere solitos et eas solas delicias arbitrari."[1]

Mr. Hyde Clarke remarks that "the formation of Ireland, cut up by bays and estuaries, is very favourable for the preservation on its wide coast of remnants of ancient populations. These are preserved in restricted areas and in very small numbers when geographical or other limitations check intermarriage."[2] This helps us to understand the account of Giraldus Cambrensis, in the reign of Henry II, of some Connaught men. He states that he heard some sailors relate how they were driven by a storm to the northern islands, and while taking shelter there they saw a small boat rowing

[1] Cf. Giles, *Hist. Anc. Britons*, i, 66; *Ulster Journ. Arch.*, viii.
[2] *Roy. Irish Acad.*, x, 102.

towards them. It was narrow and oblong, and made of wattled boughs covered and sewn with the hides of beasts. In it were two men naked, except that they wore broad belts of the skins of some animal round their loins. They had yellow hair like the Irish, falling below their shoulders and covering the greater part of their bodies. The sailors found that these men came from some part of Connaught and spoke the Irish language. They were astonished at the ships they saw, and explained that in their own country they knew nothing of these things.[1]

A traveller among people thus described is exactly on a par with the modern traveller among native races of uncivilised lands. The latter might very frequently see in the native villages or hut-dwellings "young maids stark naked grinding of corn with certain stones to make cakes thereof," the absence of clothing, the use of two stones for crushing the corn, both being indicative of the savage state of culture. And yet the above fact is related of the maidens of Cork in 1603, by the traveller Fynes Moryson, who alleges in support of his statement, that "I have seen [them] with these eyes".[2] An Italian priest travelling in Armagh is reported to have made a Latin distich upon the nakedness of the women.[3] But an even more startling picture is related by the same author, of a Bohemian nobleman who, travelling in Ulster, was regaled by the chief, O'Kane. "He was met at the door with sixteen women, all naked except their loose mantles; whereof eight or ten were very fair and two seemed very nymphes; with which strange sight his eyes being dazzled they led him into the house, and there sitting down by the fire, with crossed legs like tailors and so low as could not but offend chaste eyes, desired him to sit down with them. Soon after O'Kane, the lord of the country, came in all naked, excepting a loose mantle and shoes which he put off as soon as he came in, and entertaining the baron in his best manner in the Latin tongue, desired him to put off his apparel which he thought to be a burden to him."[4]

Spenser describes, about the same time as Moryson, the loose mantles of the women,[5] which must have borne a most unmistakable resemblance to those of the Toda women of the Nilgiri Hills in India. These people are described as wearing but a simple robe thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand, and

[1] *Topography of Ireland*, lib. iii, cap. xxvi.
[2] *History of Ireland*, ii, 372.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 377.
[4] Moryson's *Travels*, p. 181.
[5] *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 47.

which are often thrown open to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting on the shoulders.[1]

When William Lithgow was in Ireland in 1619, he records that he "saw women travelling or toiling at home, carrying their infants about their necks, and, laying their dugs over their shoulders, would give suck to their babes behind their backs without taking them in their arms. Such kind of breasts [were] more than half a yard long."[2] Such a sight has been frequently witnessed by modern travellers among savage races. Thus the Beiara women of New Britain carry their children "on their back in a bag of network which is suspended from their forehead by a band; their breasts are so excessively elongated that they can sling them across their shoulders to enable the babe to take hold of the nipple without changing its position."[3] The Tasmanian women carried "their children wrapped in a kangaroo skin which hung behind their backs, and to suckle them it was only necessary to throw their breasts, which were excessively elongated, over their shoulders."[4]

The Irish sleeping arrangements are thus described: "They sleep under the canopy of heaven, or in a poor house of clay, or in a cabin made of the boughs of trees and covered with turf, for such are the dwellings of the very lords among them. And in such places they make a fire in the midst of the room, and round about it they sleep upon the ground, without straw or other thing under them, lying all in a circle about the fire with their feet towards it. And their bodies being naked they cover their heads and upper parts with their mantles."[5]

The "Laban an Oultagh", or Ulsterman's Bed, was not uncommon in the early part of this century. It is a bed of straw in a small room covering the whole floor, in which the husband and wife, and oftentimes a guest or two, sleep. Mr. Paterson of Kilrush called very early one morning at the house of a boatman to send him to Limerick, and found the door open. He went towards the "Laban" to inquire for the man, whose wife, a handsome young woman, answered that he had gone to the boat. While she was speaking, Mr. Paterson saw a man fast asleep among the children between her and the wall; and asking, "what the deuce brought him there?" she replied, with unconcern, that he was an uncle's son of Paddy's, who came to see them the night

[1] Col. King's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills*, p. 9.
[2] Lithgow's *Travels*, p. 40.
[3] Featherman's *Races of Mankind*, ii, 51. [4] *Ibid.*, 105.
[5] Fynes Moryson, *Hist. of Ireland*, ii, 377-78.

before. The farmers have a kind of bed generally by the fireside, called a "Callentine". It is enclosed by four straw mats, with a small doorway for entrance.[1]

Their method of cooking closely resembled the practices of savage people. Their milk was "warmed with a stone first cast into the fire",[2] and "pieces of flesh, also the entrails of beasts unwashed, they seethe in a hollow tree lapped in a raw cow's hide, and so set over the fire."[3]

They partook of their food in open encampments "upon a bundle of grass", as Fynes Moryson puts it.[4] This is exactly the practice described by Diodorus and Strabo.[5]

Turning to Scotland, Herodian (iii, 14) and Dion Cassius have described some wild barbarians of the North, which Mr. Elton considers to be a pre-Celtic race. They were naked and tattooed; living by hunting, herbs, fruit, nuts, and even the bark of trees in the forest.[6] At the time of the Roman invasion there was still a naked people in the North. A stone discovered in 1868 on the farm of Arniebog, in the parish of Cumbernauld, presents a sculptured form of a captive, and thus, says Dr. Buchanan, "affords a portrait by Roman hands of a native Briton. He is naked, on one knee, with his hands tied behind his back as if ready for decapitation."[7] Another Roman sculptured stone, discovered at Bridgeness, near Carriden, Linlithgowshire, represents a group of four captive Britons, one of whom is a woman. "All are naked. Behind them is a Roman soldier, on a stallion, fully armed, galloping among and slaying the captives."[8] Another Roman stone, found in Scotland, represents two Caledonian natives both naked, and with their arms tied behind their backs.[9]

St. Jerome (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. xcix) affirms that the Attacotti who inhabited Scotland were cannibals. In describing the prehistoric remains of Caithness, Mr. Laing mentions a midden in which, in the midst of a mass of limpet-shells, and broken jaws, and bones of animals, he found the fragment of a human lower jaw—that of a child about six years of age. No trace of any other human bone was found with it, and coupling it, says Mr.

[1] Mason's *Statistical Account of Ireland*, ii, 456.
[2] Fynes Moryson, *Hist. of Ireland*, ii, 375.
[3] *Ibid.*, 373; Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 49.
[4] *Hist. of Ireland*, ii, 377. [5] Diodorus, lib. v, c. 2.
[6] Elton, *Origins*, 169-70.
[7] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, ix, 473. [8] *Ibid.*, 476.
[9] [*Caledonia Romana*, 2nd edit., pl. ix]; Mitchell's *Past in the Present*, 247; cf. Gordon's *Itin.*, plate ii.

Laing, with the fact of another isolated fragment of human jaw having been found in another midden, both under circumstances precisely similar to those of the deer, pigs, and oxen by which they were surrounded, it raises a strong presumption that these aboriginal savages were occasionally cannibals.[1] A large proportion of the remains of the larger animals had been young, as shown by the presence of the milk-teeth, which may lead to the inference that with such very imperfect weapons the savages could seldom succeed in killing an adult. On the whole, the diet of this people seems to have been very like that of the savages of Tierra del Fuego, so admirably described by Darwin in his *Voyage of a Naturalist*.[2]

Gordon, in 1726, relates that he had seen "curroughs in Scotland, but never of a larger size than to admit the ferryman and one single passenger on his shoulders".[3]

Sir Arthur Mitchell having noted one or two of the customs of savagery in Scotland and Ireland, says he does not consider he would be wrong in saying he could find illustrations quite as telling in England: "If they have not been found there it is probably because they have not been looked for."[4] We turn first to the classical authorities.

Cæsar is witness to the fact that the Britons tattooed themselves like the modern savage: "Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt quod cæruleum efficit colorem atque hoc horridore sunt in pugna aspectu" (lib. v, cap. 14); and the expressions used by other classical writers bear out this statement—"Infectos Britannos", "virides Britannos", "cæruleis Britannis", "pictis Britannis", "flavis Britannis", "cæruleos scuta Brigantes".[5]

Strabo and Diodorus Siculus state the Gaulish Britons were head-hunters. The successful warrior slung his enemy's head at his saddle-bow, and the chiefs had their houses adorned with skulls of their enemies nailed up against the porch.[6]

On the tesselated pavements at Lydney Park, in Gloucestershire, are figured some British fishermen paddling in little coracles about the mouth of the Severn.[7]

[1] Laing and Huxley's *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[3] Gordon's *Itinerarium*, 145.

[4] *The Past in the Present*, p. 279.

[5] Propertius, lib. ii, 18; Ovid, *De Amore*, ii, 16; Martial, lib. xi, 54; xiv, 99; Lucan, lib. iii; Seneca, *De Claudio*. Cf. P. Mela, lib. iii, cap. 6; Herodian, lib. iii, 14.

[6] Strabo, iv, 302; Diod. Sic., v, 29. Cf. Elton's *Origins*, 112.

[7] King's *Roman Antiq. at Lydney Park;* Rhys, *Nature*, 24th July 1879.

"To this day, in the country districts [of Cornwall], kitchen-stoves, and, indeed, coal-fires of any sort, are hardly known. The fuel is commonly dried furze, which is burned either in an earthen oven or on a wide, open hearth. It is thrown on, piece by piece, with a pitchfork, till the iron plate on which the baking is to be done is considered hot enough; then the plate is swept clean, and the cakes—biscuits, as they are termed—or pasties having been ranged in order upon it, an iron vessel, shaped somewhat like a flower-pot, is turned over them, the furze is again piled on, and a large heap of glowing embers raked over all. No further attention is paid to the cooking; but when the embers are cold, the things are done."[1]

From such facts as these it would appear that the savage condition which is borne witness to by early authorities has been continued in these islands in little patches of savage life to far within historical times.

Certainly the border-land between Scotland and England cannot be said to have become civilised until late down in history. Redesdale, says Dr. Robertson, was, until quite recently, a very secluded valley surrounded by moors and morasses, and occupied to a great extent by shaggy woods. Until all-conquering Rome planted her standard in its centre, Redesdale must have been singularly inaccessible to the outer world. After the Roman domination came to an end the district seems to have remained undisturbed by Saxon from the east or Northman from the west. In their sylvan fortresses the inhabitants held their own, nay, for many generations did much more, harrying and robbing their more peaceful neighbours. Redesdale being a regality, with a resident lord of the manor supreme for centuries, it was found that the king's writ runneth not in Redesdale. Until the time of Bernard Gilpin, the thieves, that is, the men of Redesdale, were probably hardly Christians, even by profession. Their clergy and instructors are described by Bishop Fox in 1498 as wholly ignorant of letters, the priest of ten years' standing not knowing how to read the ritual. In this community of men, ignorant, dissolute, accustomed to crime, debarred by laws made specially against them from mixing freely with their neighbours, having only slight connection with the world beyond their own morass-girt vale, and intermarrying amongst themselves, it may be expected that old customs and superstitions lingered doubtless longer than elsewhere.[2] I will now quote a

[1] *Chambers's Journal*, 5th July 1884.

[2] *Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club*, ix, 512. "Tradition, without being supported by any historical authority, says that the square keep or tower of

curious account of a savage people once existing in Wales, from information collected from the locality for a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:—

"I learn from a letter which I have received, that 'there is a certain red-haired, athletic race about Cayo and Pencarreg, in Carmarthenshire, called *Cochion* (the Red ones). The principal personage in the pedigrees of the district is Meirig Goch, or Meirig the Red, from whom many families trace their descent. The Cochion of Pencarreg were in former days noted for their personal strength and pugnacity at the fairs of the country, where sometimes they were not only a terror to others, but to each other when there were none else left with whom they could contend.' From another letter, written by a person residing in a different part of the country, and who wrote quite independently of the former, I learn that 'the race of people referred to lived about 70 or 80 years ago, in the parishes of Cemaes and Mallwyd, the former in this county, and the latter in Merionethshire. They were called "Y Gwyllied Cochion". Gwyllied, according to Richards of Coychurch, in his *Thesaurus*, are "spirits, ghosts, hobgoblins", and Gwyll, a hag or fairy. "Red fairies" would, I suppose, be the best translation. They were strong men, and lived chiefly on plunder. In some old cottages in Cemaes there are scythes put in the chimneys, to prevent the entrance of the depredators, still to be seen.' In a subsequent letter I was informed: 'On further inquiry, I find that the "Gwyllied Cochion" can be traced back to the year 1554, when they were a strong tribe, having their head-quarters near Dinas (city) Mallwyd, Merionethshire. They were most numerous in 'Coed y Dugoed Mawr' (literally the "wood of the great dark, or black wood"). Coed (wood) occurring twice, is a very common Welsh idiom. They built no houses, and practised but few of the arts of civilised life. They possessed great powers over the arrow and the stone, and never missed their mark. They had a chief of their own appointment, and kept together in the most tena-

Crawley was built by a famous 'Rider' called Crawley; hence the place got its name. The tower was, at an after period, the residence of the family of Harrowgate, of one of whom many anecdotes are yet extant, and amongst others is the following: Mr. Harrowgate possessed a remarkably fine, white horse, for he was not behind his neighbours in making excursions north of the Cheviot, and the then proprietor of the Crawley estate took so great a fancy to this beautiful charger, that, after finding he could not tempt Harrowgate to sell him for money, he offered him the whole of this fine estate in exchange for his horse; but Mr. H., in the true spirit of a border rider, made him this bold reply: 'I can find lands when I have use for them; but there is no sic a beast (*i.e.*, horse) i' yon side o' the Cheviot, nor yet o' this, and I wad na part wi' him if Crawley were made o' gold.' How little did the value of landed property appear in those days of trouble and inquietude, and how much less were the comfort of succeeding generations consulted? The only property of value then to a borderer was his trusty arms, and a fleet and active horse, and these seem to have been the only things appreciated by this old gentleman." (*Denham Tracts*, 17.)

cious manner, having but little intercourse with the surrounding neighbourhood, except in the way of plundering, when they were deemed very unwelcome visitors. They would not hesitate to drive away sheep and cattle, in great numbers, to their dens. A Welsh correspondent writes to me thus: "They would not scruple to tax (*trethu*) their neighbours in the face of day, and treat all and everything as they saw fit; till at last John Wynn ap Meredydd and Baron Owen were sent for, who came with a strong force on Christmas night, 1534, and destroyed by hanging upwards of 100 of them. There is a tradition that some of the women were pardoned, and a mother begged very hard to have her son spared, but, on being refused, she opened her breast, and said that it had nursed sons who would yet wash their hands in Baron Owen's blood! Bent on revenge, they watched the Baron carefully, and on his going to Montgomery Sessions, they waylaid him, and actually fulfilled the old woman's prediction. This place is called to this day Llidiart y Barwn (the Baron's gate), and the tradition is *quite fresh* in the neighbourhood." He says that the "Dugoed mawr" has disappeared long since, and the county is much less woody than it was centuries ago. But as you, I presume, are more anxious to have some traces of the characteristics of the *race* than a history of their actions, I have made inquiries on that head, and I find that the Gwyllied were a tall, athletic race, with red hair, something like the Patagonians of America. They spoke the Welsh language. I was fortunate enough to find out some descendants of the Gwyllied on the maternal side, and those in my native parish of Llangurig (on the way from Aberystwith to Rhayader). When these Welsh Caffirs were sent from Mallwyd they wandered here and there, and some of the females were pitied by the farmers and taken into their houses and taught to work, and one of these was married to a person not far from this place, and the descendants now live at Bwlchygarreg Llangurig. I knew the old man well. There certainly was something peculiar about him—he was about 70 when I was a boy of 15; he had dark, lank hair, a very ruddy skin, with teeth much projecting, and a receding brow. I never heard his honesty questioned, but mentally he was considered very much below the average; the children also are not considered quick in anything. They do not like to be taunted with being of the "Red Blood", I am told. I never knew till lately that they were in any way related to the Gwyllied.'"

Further east, in the Cambridgeshire fens, we have just such another picture. We are told that the "labourers are much less industrious and respectable than in many counties. In the fens it is easily accounted for: they never see the inside of a church, or anyone on a Sunday but the alehouse society. Upon asking my way (towards the evening) in the fens, I was directed, with this observation from the man who informed me, 'Are you not afraid to go past the bankers at work yonder, sir?' I was told these bankers

were little better than savages."[1] As evidence of how little influence upon the less frequented parts of the country great political events have exercised, we may cite a most telling example in Sussex. There is much to show that the silence of *Domesday* upon the district of the Weald is due to the fact that William's agents did not penetrate into these wilds, and a few years ago two distinguished geologists travelling there were startled by hearing a Sussex labourer speaking of William the Conqueror as "Duke William", and that, too, within sight of Senlac.[2]

These examples, drawn from many sources, might perhaps be considered as the inexact and incidental notices cropping up in literature without any distinct purpose or value; but not only do they serve to direct attention to the means by which archaic custom has been kept alive, but they are confirmed by direct parallels in archæological discovery. Thus, General Pitt-Rivers, describing the site of his excavations at Cranborne, on the borders of Wilts and Dorset, points out that the southern slopes of the Wiltshire downs contain large tracts which retain their original forest character. This region, "strengthened by the dense forests which covered Dorsetshire, appears throughout the early history of these islands to have served as a standing point for first established races in resisting succeeding waves of immigration from the east. Here the abundance of long barrows shows that the neolithic folk, of presumably Iberian origin, congregated in large numbers. Here the Goidels, or earliest wave of the Celtic population, are shown by Professor Rhys to have resisted the succeeding wave of Brythons coming from the same quarter. Here also, Mr. Green has shown, in his *Making of England*, the West Welsh, of whatever ethnic elements they may have been composed, withstood the Saxons for a long time after the latter had penetrated as far as Wilton."[3] Here, too, the barbarous rights and privileges of Cranborne Chase preserved intact almost the primitive forest land which sheltered the first inhabitants of Britain. But the most important fact of all is in the discovery, by General Pitt-Rivers, of the skeletons of a remarkably small race of people, most probably the survivors of the neolithic population who lived to cross swords with the Romans, perhaps with the Saxons, and who stood their ground in this unconquered region, leaving to archæologists the record of their fight in the curious grouping of the skeletons in the main ditch,

[1] Gooch's *Agriculture of Cambridgeshire*, 289.
[2] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, iii, 52.
[3] Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, xv.

and the certain mark of a deep sword-cut in the head of a child-skeleton. Surely the archæology of Southern Wilts may join hands with the history of Cambridgeshire fens, Northamptonshire forests, Welsh hills, and Border valleys, and help us to realise that an older stratum of culture was kept up by the outlawed dwellers of these inaccessible districts; and that whether they received into their fold from time to time the discontented of each succeeding age, whether it be Hereward the Berseker, Robin Hood the forest-robber, or Sir Ensor Doone the pillager, the new-comers insensibly sank to the level of culture with which their new occupation and their new comrades must have surrounded them. It has before now been suggested that the tattooing of Jack Tar is the survival of original tribal practices kept up by a caste; that as the caste received new members the new members had to conform to caste practices, and that hence, although the character of the original group has thus altered from the tribal representatives of an ethnic stock to the accepted membership of a caste, the original ethnic practices have lived on just the same. The suggestion is a valuable one, and accounts for much that is not quite clear in archaic custom.

We have now examined some of the conditions under which archaic custom, originating in the savage state, may have survived to within historical times. I make no pretence that this evidence is complete, but it is sufficient to indicate the basis of such researches as the science of folk-lore leads us to undertake. Before however, finishing our examination of the conditions under which survival of archaic custom can be accounted for, it may be well to touch upon one important characteristic of tribal society.

It enables us to suggest some considerations against the present intensely local aspect of custom. In early society, law was not local but personal; there was, in fact, no such thing as *lex loci.* Thus, Mr. J. D. Mayne points out that in India, when any "family migrates to another province, governed by another law, it carries its own law with it and this rule would apply as much to matters of succession to land as to their purely personal relations."[1] The truth is that this *personal* aspect of law has been wholly, or almost wholly, overlooked by our historians, and yet it was in full force at the time of the overthrow of the Roman empire in Europe. Mr. Story, in his work on the *Conflict of Laws*, says, "While the conquerors, the Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, maintained their own laws, and usages, and customs over their own race, they silently or expressly allowed each of the

[1] *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 37.

races over whom they obtained an absolute sovereignty to regulate their own private rights and affairs according to their own municipal jurisprudence"; and Savigny, in his *History of the Roman Law in the Middle Ages*, after pointing out the same state of things, quotes a passage from Bishop Agobardus' epistle to Louis le Débonnaire, in which he says, "It often happens that five men, each under a different law, may be found walking or sitting together." Many traces exist of a sharp distinction in the population between separate races, and in the early laws an Englishman and a Welshman are always distinguished. The charters of Malcolm of Scotland are addressed to Franks, Angles, Scots, and British or Galivenses, and such a fact shows clearly the late survival of tribal custom.

Summarising the results of our examination into the conditions under which the survival of archaic custom has taken place in the British Islands, it appears that two very distinct strata of early society may be detected in the population. The older, or as I have hitherto termed it, for the sake of emphasis, the savage state, represents, so far as it is possible to form an opinion, the non-Aryan aboriginal people, ever pushed back by the later advancing races into inaccessible fastnesses, dense forest, or morass lands, wherever the outskirts of settled life have been formed. This stage was kept up in later times, not, of course, by race-elements, but by the outcasts from political advancement—the "broken men" of all periods resorting to the old centres of uncivilised life, and there keeping alive customs and practices which, in their origin, were due to savage ancestors. Everything that we know of the Aryan and his modes of life and thought, precludes us from supposing that he could have adopted in Britain practices which, elsewhere, are only to be identified with non-Aryans. Mr. Elton has lent the sanction of his great authority to this method of interpreting some of the rudest customs which were extant among the peasantry in some parts of the country until comparatively recent times; and my re-examination of the evidence on different lines confirms this view. The later strata of early society represents the tribal or Aryan stage, ever being worked upon by the growing progress of political development, which transformed tribes into localities and tribal custom into local custom. It is not surprising that this should be somewhat less apparent in survival than the savage state, because political society has grown out of tribal, and has therefore never left the tribe to itself, while it has deliberately ignored, when it has not rooted out, the savage hordes. Still

it seems impossible that the complicated tribal system, with its intermixed kinships and its agglomeration of constantly hostile clans, could have settled down into territorial units without leaving the marks of such a process stamped upon the land. The local unit is but the fossilised form of the tribal unit; and by the right interpretation of local phenomena we may learn much of the tribal originals. In some districts the hand of the central political authority, which is the machinery that has been at work upon the old tribal system, has been less heavy and crushing than in other districts, and we can thereby detect some stages in the transition. When, therefore, we are dealing with the survivals in Britain of *traditional* practices, we may interpret them as belonging to either a savage status or a tribal status; and we know by this preliminary inquiry that the channels by which these two great epochs of archaic custom have drifted down to modern observation are both broad enough and deep enough for the purpose. Modern civilisation is so present with us in every walk of life, we are so conscious of every step of advance, political or social, that the old unconscious progress of a people seems far enough off from modern days. But, after all, civilisation of any advanced type is only the product of three or four centuries in Britain, and we do well to ask ourselves something of the life which lies at the back of that civilisation, and has existed for untold centuries. For aught history tells us to the contrary, the crust of civilisation built up by Christianity, and the political forces arising out of the shattered elements of the Roman empire, was very thin, and beneath it was the solid stratum of traditional barbarism which even now is not rooted out. The evidence that I have touched upon in this paper gives us an opportunity of estimating what the chances are that the traditional superstitions and practices of the unlettered peasantry have descended from the earliest times, before the dawn of civilisation.

G. L. Gomme.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CINQUE PORTS CHARTERS.

THE appearance of Mr. J. H. Round in the list of writers upon the Cinque Ports is very welcome. Nothing is more desirable than that the history of this most interesting institution should receive the attention of antiquaries; and as the latest writer on the subject, as well as the first to attempt a history of a great community, I cannot but rejoice that an opportunity is thus afforded for expanding any portion of it which has been too much condensed. The limitations incident to one of a series of "Historic Towns" formed a serious drawback to the success of an undertaking which required at least double the space to do it ordinary justice. As it was, the history of fifteen corporate towns and twenty-four non-corporate towns and villages, besides their general history as a joint confederacy largely concerned with the destinies of England, had to be ruthlessly compressed into 254 pages of large type in a small octavo volume. Not that the portion which Mr. Round criticises is that from which I had to cut out the largest part of what I originally wrote; but it may be safely said that it is the most difficult portion, and that which requires to be most strongly fortified.

I have now to thank Mr. Round for the way in which he has spoken of my book, and to meet his objections to my statement of the antiquity of the Confederation. I am glad to see that he does not find fault with my account of the early history of each separate Port, in which the historian has to grope very much in the dark, but only with my following the received account—chiefly based on Edward I's charter—of the Ports having been chartered as a Confederation by Edward the Confessor. This, indeed, had already been disputed on the ground that no such charter has survived; and I was much tempted, when obliged to compress to such an extent, to give no opinion at all upon it; but the more I examined the question, the more I felt inclined to agree with the old local writers who never supposed there could be any doubt on the subject. That the charter of Henry II, which we know about from those of his sons, has no more survived than

those of his predecessors, has always seemed to me an argument of some weight.

Mr. Round conceives that the act of confederation must be dated much later than Edward, since he thinks he has found so close an analogy between the Cinque Ports and the communes of North France, especially of Picardy, that we must not look back further than the time of their institution, the period of Louis VI and Suger, which was comtemporary with that of our Henry I. "The Cinque Ports corporation," he says, "was of foreign origin, and was an offshoot of the communal movement in North France." He summarises his argument under five heads.

1. The negative. "There is no parallel to the Cinque Ports Confederation in England, but there is in Picardy"—*i.e.*, of the date above-named, and of the sort mentioned by Thierry—"confederations of several villages or hamlets united in municipalities under one collective charter and magistracy." This is, I venture to think, a feeble analogy. In the one case we have an attempt to meet the difficulty of governing a number of little communities, each of which was too small to receive separate municipal government. In the other we have a body of powerful corporations banded together to perform national offices, civil and military. Further, is Mr. Round right in rejecting the Confederation of the Five Boroughs as an English example, because we do not "know its character"? Each of them appears to have had a representative character of its own, besides a common court of justice, and we know something about the twelve law-men in each of them; and even the fact that twelve burgesses from Leicester attended Edward the Confessor has some significance. The institution which had largely influenced English affairs could hardly have passed out of memory, and may well have been taken as an example of five boroughs like the Cinque Ports, forming a confederacy for certain purposes. But this is not intended as a serious argument. "No amount of analogy between two systems can by itself prove the actual derivation of one from another." (Stubbs, *Constitutional History.*)

2. The second argument is based on the words "Cinque" and "Serement" (the Warden's oath) being French, and Mr. Round quotes against me my own statement that the expression "five Cinque Ports and two Ancient Towns" was technically correct. I quite admit that this curious phrase shows that "Cinque" was the older title—but older than what?—older than the addition of Winchelsea and Rye, effected by Henry II, the mention of whose Cinque Port charters by his sons suggests, from its form, that they

were speaking of something long established. The earliest title is Norman-French, but there is nothing in this to diminish its antiquity, if we do not go back further than Edward the Confessor's reign. I have taken some pains to show how the half-Norman king, the ward of Normandy up to middle age, the man who evidently meant the Norman duke to succeed him, deliberately placed the New Borough of Hastings, as well as Winchelsea and Rye, under a Norman abbot, with a view to strengthen the connection of the two countries before he died; and nothing is more likely than that he should grant his charter to the Confederation under a Norman name. Even if his charter did not assign the name, it would have been given by William; but if we are to look for a later date of confederation than this, it would seem natural, when two new towns were added to a body which had only just been constituted, that "cinque" should have been changed to "sept". Nothing of the sort happened. The name had been too long established. It could only now be "the five Cinque Ports and two ancient towns".

3. The third argument consists of two parts: (*a*) that the absence of the "Merchant Guild" and of "Aldermen" detaches the Ports from English, and so far assimilates them to French, communes, of which (*b*) they possessed the typical constitution in a mayor and twelve jurats. Now with regard to (*a*), as London shared with the Cinque Ports the absence of a Merchant Guild, it follows that London is as much indebted to French example as the Ports. But that is hardly admissible. The "mayor" (or, rather, the bailiff, which preceded the mayor) and "jurats" are no doubt Norman, but it does not follow that the Ports were modelled on French examples, for, as Mr. Round candidly admits, the towns are not styled "communes", nor does the name "jurats" apply, as in the French case, to the members of the community generally, but only to the twelve jurats or magistrates. This last is an essential difference, and cannot be neglected. It seems to me that we have only to accept the usual explanation of the Conquest policy, that the Normans introduced French names for English things where the lordship of the king, the Primate, or the Abbot of Fécamp, over communities which were in close contact with Normandy, made it possible and desirable. They changed nothing which had a strong existing position, such as the borough system, with its custumals and its privileged men, whom they called "barons", but who differed in nothing from the burghers or freemen of other towns. The jurats were superior to the barons, who were all "jurati" in fact, but not so termed. Thus, both in what the

Normans found and did not alter, as well as in what they introduced afresh, we find a marked difference between the Cinque Ports and the French communes. Their treatment of the case is analogous to their conduct in the larger sphere of the shires and shire-motes. The shire became the county, the shire-mote the county court; but they never changed the "sheriff" into a "bailiff", probably because the institution of the shire-reeve was too complex and too deeply rooted for such treatment. As a matter of fact, "jurats" are found not only at the Cinque Ports but at Maidstone, Gravesend, Queenborough, Romney Marsh, and at other ports which became Members of the Cinque Ports long after the latest date proposed for the confederation. So also with the title of "baron". We find it in the case of several of these Members applied generally to "freemen", as at the Cinque Ports, but with no tradition or mark whatever of the title being adopted in consequence of membership—though, indeed, it is possible that it might have been so. But the case of Tenterden rather goes to show that membership did not convey the title as a matter of course, for Queen Elizabeth expressly granted it to the Corporation. We may well expect, however, that the progress of modern research will throw light upon all these matters.

4. The fourth argument is derived from the similarity between the Warden of the Cinque Ports and the Sénéchal, Prévôt, or Bailli du Roi in the clusters of French Communes. Here, again, I venture to think that the difference is so vital as to throw out all idea even of analogy, much more of derivation. I have given in my book many indications of the Warden being an officer appointed subsequently to the commencement of the Cinque Ports system. It is, indeed, probable enough that Godwin, Harold, and Odo did, in succession, exercise some sort of supervision over these ports; it could hardly be otherwise; but the very earliest notices we have of a Warden who is also a Constable of Dover Castle, disclose him not as a Bailiff, Provost, or Seneschal, but as one of the greatest officers of the kingdom, appointed to maintain the liberties of the Ports, to act as a mediator between them and the King, to see they did the duties for which they were franchised, and to be a Judge upon appeal. The annual meetings of the Ports' representatives under their "Speaker", at which they dealt with all questions of taxation and Crown-service, were absolutely independent of the Warden, who only presided at the Judicial Court of Shepway, taken latterly to Dover. The oath he had to take to preserve the Cinque Ports liberties is itself an indication of the precedence of those

liberties; and if, as is supposed, his functions were coeval with the Conqueror, or even only with his sons, the name "Serement", given to this oath, would be the natural one. We know that the Conquest was followed by a great rush of foreigners into the English commercial towns which were more immediately accessible, and the French designations of officers and offices came as a matter of course, without obliging us to refer them for their origin to any particular French model which is supposed to have originated those names and functions.

5. The fifth argument rests on the similarity in North France and England of the punishment for refusing the office of "Mayor or Jurat", viz., the "demolition of the communal house". This, indeed, gives the title to the article; but the only instance alleged is that of Amiens, and it seems a slender foundation for Mr. Round's superstructure. In no other Custumals has he found this penalty, though due for other offences, attached to refusal of office. Nor did the penalty attach at the Cinque Ports to any one of them except Sandwich, as regarded Jurats. The Bailiff or Mayor alone suffered at the other Ports, but at some of them not to the extent of having his house pulled down, but only by ejection and sealing up of the house. So that there is not much left of the "foreign origin".

Let me conclude with a mild remonstrance against the disrespect shown in the above arguments to Edward I's charter of 1278. Some of the charters of Edward I have been regarded with suspicion on the ground of their being founded on those returned to Writs of Quo Warranto in such great numbers that they could not have possessed any high authority. But, as I have pointed out, this particular charter bears most evident marks of the special authority of the king, who had been intimately, too intimately for his peace, concerned with the Ports for many years. The largely increased franchises, and the references to matters connected with the recent civil war, speak for themselves. Mr. Round will also allow me to point out that he does not state the whole case, in the note with which he concludes his article, when he tells us that the words do not even "necessarily imply" that Edward the Confessor gave a charter to the Cinque Ports. "The allusion", he says, "to the liberties the Ports possessed in the days of Edward [the Confessor] and his successors might well be taken from such a charter as that of Henry II to Lincoln, in which he grants to the citizens all the liberties 'quas habuerunt tempore Edwardi et Willelmi et Henrici regum Anglorum'." It is quite true that the words in this Lincoln charter "do not necessarily

imply that those kings had granted charters", but, besides words of this sort, Edward's charter contains something much more precise and decisive, immediately following the above. I will quote again the whole passage: "They shall have their liberties and quittances from henceforth, in the best, fullest, and most honourable manner that they and their predecessors have ever had in the times of the Kings of England, Edward, William I and II, King Henry our great-grandfather, and in the times of King Richard, and King John our grandfather, and of the Lord King Henry our father, *by the charters of these same Kings, as those charters, in possession of the Barons, and which we have seen, do reasonably testify.*" This is something more than implication; and I need not point out that the charters referred to are charters to the Confederation, not to separate Ports. That Edward the Confessor's charter may yet come to light, at least in the form of an exemplification, is the belief of a most competent authority, at present engaged upon those in the British Museum. That would set the question at rest.

As the above plain statement fitted in with everything else which presented itself in my researches, with the Yarmouth connection, the Court of Shepway, the Custumals, the charters of Richard and John, the dates of Sheriffs' Courts and Itinerant Justices, the antiquity of the Coronation honours, and what was known of the condition of the Ports in those days, I accepted the charter of Edward the Confessor as a faithful landmark, and showed how the history of our early kings and their institutions appeared to coincide with the statement. If proof can be brought against the issue of such a charter, I shall be the first to recognise it. But I am sure Mr. Round will excuse me for saying that this theory of his, which would bring the act of Confederation down some way into the twelfth century, requires more support than he has given it.

MONTAGU BURROWS.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.

WITH the present number concludes the fourth volume of the *Archæological Review*, and the second year of its existence. We trust we may be permitted to say with some pride that we have, even in this short space of time, fully justified our existence. Of the two main objects for which the *Review* was founded—the better organisation of archæological work, and the study of institutional archæology—we may claim to have advanced the one and established the other. Thanks in large measure to the attention drawn to the need in these columns, the local antiquarian societies have been organised and brought into closer connection with their *doyen*, the Society of Antiquaries. We have likewise done much towards bringing together the scattered notices relating to Roman Britain. More recently we have obtained from all parts of the country information as to the destruction of ancient monuments and records, which, there is reason to fear, is still proceeding, notwithstanding Sir John Lubbock's Act.

We may likewise boast to have established the claim of the study of institutions to be included among the other methods of reaching a knowledge of the past which are known collectively as archæology. That claim has been warmly disputed; the right of a journal dealing with such subjects to the title of "Archæological" has been called into question. But we think that the right will no longer be denied to the new method, judging from the acknowledged success with which it has been applied to the study of the past in these pages. The light which the study of institutions throws upon all sides of archæology, even upon Biblical archæology, has been abundantly displayed during our two years of existence. During the present year, in particular, we have given *résumés* of various branches of archæological study—Biblical archæology, Celtic mythology, numismatics, Greek archæology—in which stress has been as much laid on method as on material; and in each case the institutional method has been allowed its legitimate share among the instruments of antiquarian study. The method is one which Englishmen should be the first to recognise, since it has been discovered by English scholars like the late J. F. MacLennan

and Dr. E. B. Tylor, and been applied with conspicuous success by Englishmen almost exclusively.

Nowhere has the application of this method been more conspicuously light-giving than in the investigation of those curious relics of the past known collectively as Folk-lore. Apart from the light they give to and receive from the study of early institutions and beliefs, these quaint scraps would be nothing but mere curiosities of literature. But young as the study is from this point of view, the results already obtained are sufficient to encourage further work in this direction. We have, accordingly, not hesitated to give prominence in these pages to researches like those of Mr. Hartland, Dr. Karl Blind, and Mr. MacRitchie, which attempt to penetrate to the archaic beliefs or customs which underlie the *bizarreries* of the Folk-tale.

Our success in this regard has determined us to adopt a new departure in a direction which has already been found to be most fruitful in beneficial results. Hitherto we have, in deference to the ordinary custom of archæological journals in this country, given a large space to articles dealing with purely monumental archæology, with facts rather than with principles, with antiquities rather than archæology in the true sense of the word. This kind of work, useful enough in its way, is more than sufficiently provided for by the ordinary archæological publications of this country.

By confining ourselves to the new lines of archæological research which we have opened up, we may be better enabled to win ready acceptance for its claims. We propose, therefore, to leave untouched henceforth the purely monumental side of archæology. The space thus gained will be devoted to a fuller record of publications dealing with the past in its institutional and folk-lore aspects. Our issue will be quarterly, beginning from March 1, 1890; each number will contain nearly double as many pages as the ordinary numbers of the *Archæological Review* have hitherto contained. Altogether, the year's volume will only be one-third less than hitherto. In recognition of this fact the yearly subscription is reduced to one-half.

The new departure has brought the *Archæological Review* on to lines which run parallel with much of the work that is being done by the Folk-lore Society, which has always regarded Folk-lore as of chief interest as a branch of institutional archæology. It seemed desirable to unite forces that are thus working for a common end, and overtures being favourably received, an arrangement has been come to by which the *Archæological Review* in its new issue will

become the official organ of the Folk-lore Society. In recognition of the change, a change of title has been adopted, and the *Review* will appear with a new name. A more exact estimate of its new features may be gathered from the following quotation from the recently issued Annual Report of the Folk-lore Society:

"A most important step has been taken with reference to the *Folklore Journal*. It was felt that in its present shape it did not sufficiently represent the scientific aims of the Society, and Mr. Nutt came forward with a proposal which the Council, after the most careful consideration, have accepted. It involves the issue of the *Journal* under a new title. It will be divided into sections, as follows:

"1. Original articles, whether collections of facts or expositions of theory.

"2. Reprints of English material, not easily accessible, and translations of little-read languages.

"3. A record of the progress of study in folklore, and in allied branches of science. This record will comprise:

(A) A bibliography of English and non-English books relating to folk-lore, mythology, archaic and savage institutions, mediæval romantic literature, archaic history, etc.

(B) Summaries of contents of folklore periodicals, and citation of articles of interest to the folklorist in general periodicals.

(C) Reports on well-defined sections of folklore, to be issued at stated times, briefly summing up the progress and results of study within each section during the interval from one report to another. Each section to be entrusted to a member of the Society, who will make himself responsible for the production of the report. The following sections are planned:

Comparative mythology.
Celtic and Teutonic myth and saga.
Institutions, (*a*) archaic, (*b*) savage.
Folklore in its more restricted use: (*a*) folk-tales and cognate subjects, (*b*) ballads and games, (*c*) folk-usages.
Prehistoric anthropology and archaic history.
Oriental and mediæval romantic literature.

"4. Tabulation of folk-tales and analysis of customs and superstitions."

REVIEWS.

SHORT NOTICES.

GRUNDRISS DER GERMANISCHEN PHILOLOGIE HERAUSGEGEBEN VON HERM. PAUL. Vol. II, Part I, Section I, Division VII: HELDENSAGE, von B. SYMONS. Division VIII: LITERATURGESCHICHTE.—1. GOTISCHE LITERATUR, von E. SIEVERS; 2. NORDISCHE LITERATUR, (*a*) NORWEGISCH-ISLÄNDISCHE, von E. MOGK. 8vo, pp. 1–128. (Strassburg: Trübner.)

I CAN only signal to the attention of all readers of the *Archæological Review* the appearance of a new part of this magnificent handbook to the language, literature, mythical, and heroic traditions of all the Teutonic races. The present section is of special interest to students of Teutonic tradition. The heroic sagas of the South Teutons must always be a chief source of our knowledge concerning the remote past of the Teutonic races, whilst a correct appreciation of the development of Icelandic literature as a whole is indispensable to a sound criticism of the Icelandic mythic poems.

I cannot hope to discuss fully on the present occasion Professor Symons' interesting views on Heroic Saga, views with which I am in general agreement, though I think him unduly narrow in the principles he lays down, and at times inconsistent in the application of those principles. I would, however, make one detailed criticism, bearing as it does upon an article of mine published in these pages, October 1888. Professor Symons, like the majority of German scholars, ignores all work done in this country. I cannot but think that my criticism of Professor Zimmer's crude theories concerning the influence of the Teutonic upon the Celtic heroic saga would have saved him from alluding to those theories as *proving* certain views with respect to the development of the Nibelung story. With the views themselves I have no quarrel, but I certainly think that in a handbook for students, hypotheses as tentative as those of Professor Zimmer should only be mentioned with a word of caution.

A. NUTT.

Wolfgang Golther—"Lohengrin".

I owe to Dr. Golther's kindness a copy of the offprint of his interesting article. He shows that the swan-knight legend has its roots in the pro-ethnic mythic period of the Aryans, when they worshipped, as highest deity, the Shining Heaven, *Tivaz*. Various epithets were applied to him; thus, *inter alia*, by the Teutons, *Ermnaz*, the Lofty One, *Istvaz*, the Flaming One, or *Ingvaz*, the Comer from Afar; epithets which later were regarded as names of separate gods from whom sections of the Teutonic race derived their descent; hence the *Ingaevones*, the *Herminones*, and the *Istaevones* of Tacitus.

As Lord of the wide expanse of Heaven, Tivaz is cloud compeller, *νεφεληγέτης*; early mythopoeic fancy figured the clouds as swans, hence Tivaz receives the epithet *Hohnijaz* (represented by the Scandinavian Hönir), the swan-like. Tivaz seems to have been worshipped from the earliest times by the races living on the North Sea coasts, as Ingvaz hohnijaz, the Swan-like Stranger, testifying probably to early myths in which the origin of all culture was ascribed to the mysterious deity who came across the cloud sea in swan-guise.

The main features of this early myth are found in mediæval romantic literature, but only in a contaminated form. The Low Country folk-myth was seized by some ingenious poet and made to do duty as a glorified account of the origin of Godfrey of Bouillon, the leader of the first crusade. The likeness in sound between the words *signus* (the mark of the crusader) and *cygnus* (swan) may have given the hint.

The story thus formed was afterwards influenced by the folk-tale of the Seven Swans, with which it had originally nothing to do. The mediæval legend of the *chevalier au cygne* thus came into existence. *All* the mediæval versions of the swan-knight story are traceable to the French poem or poems which first present this legend; such differences as show themselves are literary differences, and do not testify to fresh contact with folk-tradition or to varying forms of the same. The most suggestive change in the conduct of this story was made by *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, when, improving upon a hint of his French original, he brought the swan-knight and Grail stories into close connection, and thus paved the way for the poet of *Lohengrin*, the latest, and in many respects the most interesting, member of the cycle.

Incidentally, Dr. Golther is led to examine whether Wolfram von Eschenbach had in the composition of his *Parzival* any other

model besides Chrestien de Troies. As readers of my *Grail-Studies* are aware, this is a question which has been vehemently discussed, and upon which I refrained from pronouncing, as the arguments *pro* and *con* impressed me as being of equal weight. Dr. Golther argues that Wolfram must have had the model, Guiot, whom he says he had, that Guiot wrote after Chrestien, and that he deliberately altered the early history of the Grail in order to introduce a fictitious ancestry *ad majorem gloriam* of the Angevin Princes. Dr. Golther's arguments are extremely acute, and I am greatly inclined to accept them. I would, however, urge this objection: the traces of the Early History of the Grail are of the very slightest kind in Chrestien, so that there was really no necessity for Guiot to motivate *his* Early History by the virulent attacks upon the earlier poet which are found throughout Wolfram, and which, as Dr. Golther points out, are unintelligible if addressed by a German translator to a French model, but readily accounted for if they are set down to the professional rivalry of two competing French poets.

One of the points which most interests me is Dr. Golther's insistence upon the influence exerted upon the Godfrey ancestral-legend (the earliest form of the story) by the Seven Swans folk-tale. I have so frequently found myself at variance with Dr. Golther in his views of mediæval romance that I am glad to find we are in this instance of one mind. When speaking of the *märchen* he might have gone farther. One of the most marked features of the legend is the taboo laid upon the wife to refrain from inquiry respecting the mysterious husband's origin. This almost looks as if, as in countless folk-tales, the swan-guise was the result of bespelling, broken by the love of the wife, but entering into fresh force when she infringes the taboo, the observance of which is essential to the human existence of the bespelled hero. I commend this suggestion to Dr. Golther's notice.

A. NUTT.

SIXTY FOLK-TALES FROM EXCLUSIVELY SLAVONIC SOURCES. Translated, with brief Introduction and Notes, by A. H. WRATISLAW. Crown 8vo., xii, 315 pp. (London: Elliot Stock.)

THIS work is a welcome addition to the folk-lorist's library, especially for such students as are unacquainted with German, and to whom the numerous publications of Dr. Veckenstedt for

the Western and Dr. Krauss for the Southern Slavs are therefore a sealed book. Mr. Wratislaw's versions read pleasantly, and the translation has received Mr. Morfill's approval, so that it may be accepted as faithful and scholarly. Mr. Wratislaw's editorial work is slight and meagre, and what might easily have become an epoch-making work in the study of storyology, remains a useful collection of materials, a charming story-book, but nothing more.

As Mr. Wratislaw says in his preface, the present volume is an Englishing of Erben's pan-Slavonic reading-book. Erben of course grouped examples of the same dialect together. The translator has done the same, and we have in consequence close variants of the same theme separated from each other by the whole breadth of the book. Some scientific classification should have been adopted for the stories, and variants of one theme should have been arranged either geographically (from north to south or from east to west) or chronologically, according to the age and greater or less elaboration of the literature to which they belong. A ready means would thus have been afforded of testing certain developments of the borrowing theory.

Mr. Wratislaw repeatedly re-echoes the complaint of Slavonic scholars that Grimm and other Germans have enriched the Teutonic folk-store at the expense of the Slavonic. Such complaints betray ignorance of the points really at issue. Speaking with some confidence, I doubt whether the *märchen*-store of any European race contains as much as ten per cent. of elements peculiar to itself; if to *märchen* we add heroic and mythic sagas we may get, as in the case of Celts and Lithuanians, as much as twenty-five or thirty per cent. of special elements, but in no case, I fancy, more. And until Slavonic tales have been more rigorously classified and analysed than has hitherto been the case, it is premature to talk of special elements in Slavonic folk-tales.

The Serbian tales from Carniola have a special character of their own. They are origin- and culture-myths rather than *märchen*. As such they are worthy the closest attention. But I must frankly say that I can only look upon them with the utmost suspicion. In tone and incident they impress me as being modern forgeries. Mr. Wratislaw appeals to the authority of Professor Krek, of Graz, who has written an essay on the chief personage in these tales, *Kurent*. If Mr. Wratislaw will translate Professor Krek's essay, the *Archæological Review* will gladly print his translation; but until further evidence is forthcoming respecting the authenticity

and age of the beliefs revealed by these tales, I can only recommend that they should be used with the utmost caution.

Mr. Wratislaw is a partisan of the mythic system of *märchen*-interpretation. The system is an unfashionable one at present, and it is refreshing to find it applied as unhesitatingly as is here the case. It is destined to furnish a larger element to the final solution of the folk-tale problem than many scholars are now willing to allow, and it is an advantage to have it championed with the ingenuity shown by Mr. Wratislaw.

A. NUTT.

DIE HOCHZEITSBRÄUCHE DER ESTEN UND EINIGER ANDERER FINNISCH-UGRISCHER VÖLKERSCHAFTEN IN VERGLEICHUNG MIT DENEN DER INDOGERMANISCHEN VÖLKER. Von Dr. LEOPOLD VON SCHRÖDER. (Berlin: A. Asher, 1888, 269 pp., 8vo.)

NO section of folk-lore presents greater difficulty, and is consequently less studied, than that of usages and customs of popular life in general. When, therefore, a book that has the history of popular manners—*Ethologie*, as the Germans say—for its object makes its appearance, we deem it our duty to call to it the attention of those readers who take an interest in such researches. We do this the more readily, as the book now under consideration is a solid contribution to the study of folk-manners, and thus deserves commendation. It was published about a year ago by Dr. Leopold von Schröder, *privat-docent* at the University of Dorpat, in Esthland.

Old marriage customs are, as it appears from his book, better preserved in Esthland and among Ougro-Finnish peoples than among the western nations of Europe. Such a fact need cause no surprise, on account of the more advanced state of civilisation of the latter. Dr. Schröder makes the present day marriage customs in Esthland the basis of his inquiry, but he does not confine himself to them. He includes ancient customs, and then proceeds to draw a parallel between such customs and those of the Indo-Germanic. The customs of the peoples thus compared are more especially those of the Esths, Lapps, Finns, and Mordvins on the one hand, and those of the ancient Germans, Greeks, Romans, and Hindus on the other. In this investigation, besides the special works relating to the Esths and kindred peoples, the learned author avails himself of the researches of Reinsberg (*Hochzeitsbuch*) and

Rossbach (*Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, 1876). Schröder's purpose in entering upon this investigation was, by a comparison of the manners of the two races, to show how untenable is the opinion of such scholars as accept a common origin of both. The author, while denying the main point of a common origin, admits that the Indo-Germanic race, especially the Teutonic tribes, Goths and Scandinavians, exercised a great influence on the Ougro-Finns, particularly during the historical period. This question does not fall within our province at present, and we simply mention it. With regard to marriage customs, we willingly accord the author all the praise he deserves for the clear and truly scientific manner in which he elucidates all that refers to marriage. He very distinctly shows that primitive marriage consisted in the carrying off of the bride by force. Many customs or ceremonies, which are followed without any apparent reason, not only in the author's country but also in more civilised society, plainly point to the primitive mode of marriage by capture. Though marriage, and much that is connected with it, acquired a new character, as a consequence of the softening of human manners, the customs that accompanied primitive marriage have not been forgotten, but survived; not understood at the present day, it is true, and often carried through in jest or as a piece of boisterous sport. The student of classic and Teutonic life often meets with facts that show the great importance attached to marriage rites, as well as with facts which can receive no satisfactory explanation except through the custom of marriage by capture; for instance, the rape of the Sabine women, the meaning of the Latin term *nubere*, the purchasing of the bride, a practice common among Eastern nations, Greeks, Romans, and all the Teutonic tribes. Many Western survivals of marriage customs which are rendered intelligible by this book might be enumerated, but the limits which a review always ought to observe will not permit such a thing, however desirable. A marked deficiency of the book is a short account of the primitive family. Such an account would have enabled the author to explain, together with the passage from matriarchal to patriarchal family, the origin of the abduction of the bride, and of the dower, which was given not as the price of the bride, but as an expiatory offering made by the abductor or offender to the tribe or family injured in its interests by the carrying off of one of its members. It is further to be regretted that Dr. Schröder did not turn his attention to the marriage customs among primitive and savage tribes, and include them in his investigation. In many cases savage life throws light

upon civilised life, as appears, on the question that occupies us, from the book lately published by Professor Dr. G. A. Wilken, of Leiden, about the marriage customs in the Indian Archipelago.

AUG. GITTÉE.

THE VIKING AGE: The Early History, Manners, and Customs of the Ancestors of the English-speaking Nations, illustrated from the Antiquities discovered in Mounds, Caverns, and Bogs, as well as from the Ancient Sagas and Eddas. By PAUL B. DU CHAILLU. (London: John Murray, 1889. 2 vols.)

WE have certain objections to make to Mr. Du Chaillu's volumes; we do not subscribe to his theory, and we do not altogether agree with his arrangement of the magnificent material he has brought together; but let us say at once that he brings into singular prominence one of the principles upon which this *Review* was started, namely, that manners and customs may be illustrated by monumental archæology, and that monumental archæology may be illustrated by the traditions and the myths of bygone ages. Mr. Du Chaillu has lived in the lands upon whose antiquities he writes, and he has drunk in from the people themselves the traditional reverence for sagas and myths. Thus it is that his book comes to us quite fresh from the archæologist's proper workshop—the mounds and the stone circles, the tumuli and dolmens, the excavations and the museums. Nothing can be more valuable than such a magnificent storehouse of illustrated objects from the buried treasure of bygone ages in Scandinavia, and the enormous labour which these volumes indicate is only a measure of the debt we owe both to Mr. Du Chaillu and to his publisher.

We wish Mr. Du Chaillu had been more precise in his terminology. When he talks of civilisation it is advisable that we know exactly what is meant by this wide term. That there was civilisation of a sort, no one reading this work can for a moment doubt; but, then, it does not all belong to one period, and it is not all of one degree. The saga that mentions the exposure of female children and the nurture of male children treads very closely on the practices of savage races, and approaches the savage stage of culture rather than what we understand by civilisation, and yet it is dated the x-xith century. There was great wealth in the North, marvellous ebullition of physical power, a rude, dashing kind of splendour, splendid capacity for warfare, but all this does not make up civilisation; and if we seek for the term that best correlates the

state of things which Mr. Du Chaillu calls the Viking Age, we cannot get beyond that of rude barbarism. That the barbarism is attractive and glowing as well as rude, we readily admit; but these characteristics must not blind us to the importance of using terms in matters of man's history which have been settled not by our fancy or our imagination, but by scientific study.

Perhaps we have said enough on this side of Mr. Du Chaillu's work. It places at our disposal so much new material for thought and study that we are anxious not to appear ungrateful even in criticising it from a high standard; and after all, perhaps, Mr. Du Chaillu may reply, that a people who could formulate rules of conduct like the following could not be even rudely barbarous:—

"The ale of men's sons
Is not so good
As men say it is;
For the more
A man drinks
The less has he his senses;"

but it has to be compared, first, with the actual drinking practices of the people, and secondly, with the proverbial utterances of, say, such barbarous people as the Malagasy, before one can properly gauge its true importance as evidence of culture.

"Better burthen
A man carries not on the road
Than great good sense;
No worse journey-provisions
Weigh him to the ground
Than too much ale-drinking;"

or again—

"An unwise man
Is awake all night
Worrying about everything
He is weary;
When the morning comes
All the woe is as it was;"

or, perhaps best of all—

"Cattle die,
Kinsmen die,
One's self die too,
But the fame never dies
Of him who gets a good name."

Mr. Du Chaillu devotes three chapters to describing finds which illustrate the stone, bronze, and early iron ages. The gallery or

passage graves are very admirably figured, and will form a welcome addition to what is already known of these structures from Nilsson and other authorities.

The oak coffins Mr. Du Chaillu classes as amongst the bronze-age finds, and certainly the most interesting objects were obtained from Treenhöi in Jutland. Articles of dress, consisting of two bands of a cap, a woollen shawl, a coarse woollen shawl, and a woollen skirt held by a striped band, were discovered in a most remarkable state of preservation, kept from decay, no doubt, by the tannin in the oak. These are the earliest perfect garments known, and even the latest period to which they belong, says Mr. Du Chaillu, cannot be far from three thousand years ago, and they may be of much earlier date. All these garments are figured, and it is possible thus to restore the every-day appearance of the people. A woman's skirt and bodice of wool was found in North Jutland, with bronze ornaments, and a bronze poniard, with horn handle, by the side of the body, which had been wrapped in a deer-skin ; this also is figured.

Passing on to the iron age, the objects described and figured are exceedingly numerous and of great interest. The bog finds are particularly important, and throw very considerable additional light on the life of the people. We can see how they were dressed, and we can learn about their riding equipment, their agricultural implements, cooking utensils, household vessels, waggons, tools, and offensive and defensive weapons. Many of the objects appear to be of Greek and Roman origin ; and Roman coins are found. As we pass from page to page of Mr. Du Chaillu's illustrations, many of the purposes of a museum are brought vividly before us, and it is almost ungrateful to note that some objects are not figured, as, for instance, agricultural implements.

What the connection was between the stone-age man and the bronze-age man, and the iron-age man of the land of the Vikings, Mr. Du Chaillu does not tell us ; but we imagine him to believe that they are but progressive developments of culture of one great race. We must confess we do not share this view. In the North, as in most other Aryan lands, there were slave classes, and these slave classes have to be accounted for historically and economically. They were the people who

> "Laid fences,
> Enriched the plough lands,
> Tended swine,
> Herded goats,
> Dug peat ;"

and there are other traces of their condition which it is well to note. First, there appears to be female heirship recognised in cases of the slave-father or the slave-mother; thus, the child of a free-woman by a thrall was free, belonging to the family of the mother; and the child of a thrall-woman by a freeman was a slave belonging to the master of the mother. Then there are many signs in the saga that difference of race indicated the condition of the serf. When Skirnir comes to ask Gerd in marriage for his master Frey, in the Skirnismál saga, he thus speaks of himself:

> "I am not of Alfar,
> Nor of Asa-sons,
> Nor of the wise Vanir;"

and such evidence should be compared with the significant allusion to a dark people contained in the Ynglinga saga of the thirteenth century: "There are also many kinds of people and many tongues; there are Asar, Dvergar and Blamenn (blue [black] men), and many kinds of strange people." These may be compared further with the interesting record of superstitions and sacrifices with which Mr. Du Chaillu has enriched his volumes, particularly that important class of guardian spirits called Landvœltir, who were subordinate to the guardian gods of each country, and were closely connected with the land, liking especially to dwell on mountains.

The fact is, such a work as this can be studied from so many points of view that it is useless to attempt more on the present occasion than some account of its chief features. Mr. Du Chaillu has himself seen nearly all the objects or graves illustrated in the book, with the exception of a few Runic stones which have disappeared, and these number in all nearly fourteen hundred. To study it as it deserves, however, we must have a good index, and this at present it does not possess. A really scientific index to such a book would increase its value doubly to the student; and we think that all possessors of the volumes would gladly subscribe to such a work. It would answer the same purpose as a catalogue to a museum, and be somewhat more than this too, because it would indicate how much there is in the old saga records, and in the monuments which illustrate them, which have yet to yield whole chapters of history, not only to the Viking history of the North, but to the history of the progress of man from the savage to the civilised stage of culture.

G. L. Gomme.

THE TOWER: A SERIES OF ETCHINGS WITH VIGNETTES AND DESCRIPTIVE LETTERPRESS. By C. R. B. BARRETT, M.A. Folio. (Catty and Dobson.)

ENDOWED with antiquarian taste and a love for archæological study, Mr. Barrett has done well to turn his powers to account in these views of the Tower of London, the stronghold, so long formidable, of our ancient city; "The Tower" *par excellence*, just as Moscow's Kremlin is so pre-eminently *the* Kremlin that we are generally ignorant of any other. As an artist he is naturally disposed to look first at the picturesque, but it goes without saying that the artist with some knowledge of architectural and historic details sees his buildings with very different eyes from the man who draws simply with a view to effect. In this volume we have some thirteen etchings, several of which represent views little known, portions of the buildings to which the public rarely, if ever, gain admission, and only read of in the pages of romance or history. In the "Tower from the River", which leads off the series, we get the familiar square building with its attendant group of curtain walls and towers, fairly detached from the ordinary buildings; though we wonder that artistic feeling did not prompt the suppression of the hideous factory chimney behind, which has no part with the fortress or its associations, unless it be to suggest, by way of contrast, how moderns are imprisoned. "The White Tower" appears again in another plate, taken from the south-east; while the insertion of a vignette sketch from the fine drawing of the Tower buildings in a fifteenth century MS. in the British Museum gives the opportunity of comparison with both, most of the points in the latter being identified. One of the most interesting, as well as best executed, of the plates is "The Postern", with its curiously wicketed oaken gates, "formerly used for State traffic by water", which Mr. Barrett states to be the most perfect of its kind in England. Of the famous "Traitor's Gate", with its sixty-feet-wide arch, we get the inner view, as well as the more familiar sketch from the Tower Wharf; and its companion, the "Gateway of the Bloody Tower" (anciently the Garden Tower), a somewhat difficult subject, in which the drawing is injured by the use of too much broken light. A vignette here reminds us that the little Oratory in the Wakefield Tower disputes the claim with the Bloody Tower of being the scene of the murder of the two little princes, the dismal and terribly suggestive dungeons of that tower being the subject of the next

plate and well-drawn vignette. There is, of course, also a sketch of the staircase in the White Tower, where the children's bones were found in 1674.

Two of the most noteworthy sections in the book deal with torture and dungeon-cells in the White and Beauchamp Towers. "Little Ease", the cell wherein Guy Fawkes is said to have been thrust, shows the refinement of cruelty, its wretched occupant not having space to lie down in. The crooked passages and cells of the Beauchamp Tower are well indicated, while one of its larger prison chambers is the subject of an etching. A door-way out of this tower led on to the parapet where the Princess Elizabeth used to take exercise when confined in the adjacent Bell Tower, a tower which is also darkly memorable for the cruel captivity of the brave and venerable Bishop Fisher. We gain a view of this tower from "Queen Elizabeth's Walk", an interesting etching, in which the brick wall and chimneys on the left are most trying to the artist's powers.

Mr. Barrett's letterpress does not of course profess to give full historical details, but he provides in a pleasant way out of various reading a good deal of illustrative matter. Much care has been bestowed upon the vignettes, which are not the least charming part of the work; and the State axe, sign of the last doom to the unfortunates before whom it was carried, adorns the sanguinary-looking cover. It would have added much to the comfort of the reader if the sketch-map of the Tower enclosure and buildings had been added, and we certainly think the publishers have done ill to provide no table of contents or index—one or the other is indispensable to the utility of every work of the sort; but these omissions do not affect the drawings, and we believe this will be found one among the best gift-books of the season.

L. T. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE LONG HUNDRED.

In regard to Mr. Stevenson's paper, *ante*, page 313, I wish to say that I never said that "wara" means the idle shift, but that an acre of wara meant an acre of land with a part sown, and therefore taxed, and a part unsown, and therefore untaxed—"quia jacet in communi et valet nil."

I never said that "wara was equivalent to the Low Latin warectum", but I ventured to offer "wara" as the parent of the expression "ad warectum", *i.e.*, "wara acta", or the Common Fields worked (see Cambridge Antiquarian Society's *Communications*, vol. vi, p 34). As regards the *meaning* of the word *wara* I have no doubt it has no relation to defence or enclosure, as Mr. Stevenson supposes, or to the word *wár* or *wárian* (to defend), but the word *wara* (without the accent) means of and belonging to the inhabitants; see Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary*, edit. 1881, p. 245, *s. voc.* "Wara of inhabitants", genitive plural of *waru*, not defence, but "a collective noun in the s. denoting the city or town authority or corporation, the city, town, or country, that is, the inhabitants of a town, city, or country, as a body"; see Bosworth, same page. Wara, therefore, if Bosworth is right, means anything belonging to or held in common by the inhabitants of a certain place or manor, and if applied to land it would mean neither more nor less than "the Common Fields", the fields *jacentes in communi* of such a manor. And this is the simple solution: if (when the land was *originally set out*) an acre of wara (*i.e.*, of the common fields) was given to a man in a two-course shift, at the time of the allotment he would have an acre in each of two fields; if the three-course shift was in vogue he would have three, *i.e.*, one in each of three fields. Such an allotment *in area* would never change, though in case of an *original* allotment, say a virgate or plena terra of twelve acres in each of two fields, when the whole area was rearranged in three fields instead of two, the same man who originally held twelve acres in each of two fields would then hold eight acres in each of three fields, though he would not thereby increase or change the place of his holding, and though his manorial records might still speak of his holding as twelve acres of wara. This was expressly the case at Wilburton, referred to by Mr. Stevenson, and quoted by him triumphantly as a discrepancy; see Stevenson, p. 326, and *note* to it. In the year 975 the manor was in a two-shift, but before Domesday, as well as in the year 1277, it was in a three-course shift, but the area was not changed, though in 975 only one-half would be sown and be taxed, while in Domesday, as well as in the year 1277, two-thirds would be sown and taxed; in other words, in the year 975 the holding would be 12 sown + 12

fallow = 24; at the time of Domesday, as well as in the year 1277, it would be 16 sown + 8 fallow = 24. The shift from the two-course to the three-course without altering the area of the separate holdings would be easy enough, when we remember that the land was held *dispersim* in roods and acres, interspersed among each other. Luckily, since I wrote my papers, I have found an entry in the Court Rolls of the manor of Winston, in Suffolk, which seems to put the matter beyond doubt, and which I would have sent to Mr. Stevenson, though a stranger to me, if I had known he was about to commit himself and write on the subject. The Roll is in the muniment-room of the Dean and Chapter of Ely, where Mr. Round or Mr. Stevenson, I have no doubt, would gladly be permitted to see it. The entry is as follows :—

"Wynston—Curia ibidem tenta die martis in crastino sanctæ Katherinæ Anno regni regis Edwardi (tertii) post conquestum quinto.

"Rogerus Langhawe qui tenuit de domino unum messuagium et quatuor acras wara terræ quæ se extendunt ad xii acras mensuras per perticam xvi pedum et dimidiæ in villenagio diem suum nuper clausit extremum," etc.

In regard to this Roll, I merely remark that at Winston there were three "common fields" or wara fields, and that a man holding four acres in each would hold twelve acres in area, *i.e.*, four acres of wara; also, that I can conceive no expression less like indicating an enclosure defended by a fence or area altered on account of value than four acres—"se extendentes ad 12 acras"—or more like indicating a lot of strips spread over three fields.

I come now to Mr. Stevenson's remarks as to the *Anglicus numerus*, or, as the witty printer called it, the Angelic number. Mr. Stevenson says: "It clearly depends upon the fact that the Anglo-Saxons called 120 a hundred, and upon the assumption that they divided this 120 into 100 parts, and that 1 meant $1\frac{1}{5}$. This is as much as to say that, because we call 112 lbs. a hundredweight we call 56 lbs. fifty, and so on, and that the reduction of the sixth by the King's officers was due to reduction in value and not in acreage," which the Hundred Rolls says expressly it is. Mr. Stevenson also says that "Mr. Pell's only other evidence is that the compiler of the *Liber Eliensis* states that Æthelwold bought twelve hides from Leofric, and that the King's Charter mentions only ten hides. It never seems to have occurred to Mr. Pell that the land bought about A.D. 970 as 10 hides, might in 1105 or so, owing to extended cultivation, represent 12 hides. But even if this instance were stronger than it is, it would not be strong enough to prove that the English ever called 12 ten. All the fanciful calculations that Mr. Pell has based upon this assumption, including even his delicious *Ready Reckoner*, p. 258, may therefore be safely left to slumber in oblivion by the Domesday student who does not wish to waste his time."

Now as to Mr. Stevenson's remark, that this is as much as to say that because we call 112 lbs. a hundredweight we call 56 lbs. a fifty-pound weight: I say certainly, if 112 lbs. is a 100, 56, or the half-hundred, must be 50; see Robertson, p. 27.

Mr. Stevenson must pardon me, I do not say that the Anglo-Saxons called the 120 a hundred. What I did say was that the hundred, or 120, was reached by shrinking in favour of the Angli 144 to 120 (see page 352 of *Pell I*). I never did say that the King's officers took anything off the hundred of 120, but they certainly did off the 144, viz., a sixth, not for value, as Mr. Stevenson says. Certainly it is true, by expanding the 100 to 120 you get the same result, yet it must be a result which is rather awkward for Mr. Stevenson's theories about values.

I never said, either, that the 1 (one) of the Anglo-Saxons meant $1\frac{1}{5}$, their 1 always meant one; but it means also, and equalled, $1\frac{1}{5}$ of the Norman and our counting. Nothing could be plainer than that it is so than in the Shelford entry, where "tenet" $7\frac{1}{2}$ in the Hundred Rolls for taxation represents the area of 9 Norman numeration in the contemporaneous survey. Mr. Stevenson only repeats what I have insisted on, viz., that the King's officers took $\frac{1}{6}$ off the area, not the value, of 144, and, of course, if nine was really worth £30, the $7\frac{1}{2}$ would only be taxed at £25; but how does that affect the question? There are several of the like cases as this in Domesday Book (see *Pell I*, p. 353 *et seq.*). Take the case of Ellingtune, at page 357 of *Pell I.* The *Ramsey Chartulary* says that 6 areal virgates of 24 in the place made the areal hide. The Hundred Roll, however, says 5 of 24, thus reducing 6 to 5, instead of reducing the 9 to $7\frac{1}{2}$, or the 18 to 15, or the 24 to 20, or the 144 to 120. This reduction of 144 to 120 began long before Domesday, and the surplusage of $\frac{1}{6}$ is in one place called *super hidam.* I call it, as does the Domesday of St. Paul, *extra hidam.* The passage I allude to is at page 129 of Stewart's *Historia Eliensis;* there had been a dispute about some land, so they took to a measuring thus described: "Mane itaque facto huic et inde quam plures videlicet de hominibus Abbatis et de hominibus mulieris. Qui primum circumeuntes mensi sunt terram quæ absque calumpnia erat et non invenerunt de terra quæ mulieris jure fuisset *nisi unam hydam per sexies xx acras* et super hydam xxiiii acras." So this 144 acres would only pass for one *integra hyda*, and would have nothing to do with valuation, and the 120 of the 144 would be the *hid mæl*, and the 24 the *æcer mæl.*

I do not know what Mr. Stevenson means about Æthelwold and the King's (Edgar's) Charter; it certainly never struck me that Edgar or Æthelwold lived in 1105; but the fact is, that what Æthelwold bought shortly before (see Stewart's *Historia Eliensis*, p. 116) as 12 hydas is immediately after, in Edgar's contemporaneous charter, called 10 cassatos, and to such charter is a terrier in Anglo-Saxon, which speaks of it as lying *hid mælum* and *æcer mælum*, the acre portion being no doubt the 24 acres *extra hydam* attached to the *hid mæl*, *i.e.*, to each hide of 120. Mr. Stevenson says: "But even if this instance were stronger than it is it would not be strong enough to prove that the English ever called 12 ten." Be it so. I never said they did, but they did call their ten, ten, which equalled the Norman twelve.

Mr. Stevenson then proceeds to suggest that the expression "'duas hidas duodecies xx acrarum arabilium' means only two hides each of 120. But this entry has to be made to fit in with other figures previously determined upon, in an equally reckless manner, by Mr. Pell, and so the 240 acres are transmuted into 576 !(That is, Mr. Pell evolves a total of 864, as nearly as possible, from the Survey of 1277, whereas the figures given in his original paper only show, when reckoned at their ordinary value, a total of 596 acres 3 roods, or, accepting Mr. Pell's estimate of the cotters' lands and of Penny Croft, 608½ acres and 3 roods.) To reach this result, he coolly reads the passage as meaning two hides *each* of 240 acres, making 480. It should be pretty clear to anyone that these hides of 120 acres are hides by the great hundred, or 'hund-twelftig'. But not so with Mr. Pell. He says the imaginary hide of 240 acres is reckoned *Anglico numero*, and he accordingly, on his theory that one means 1⅕, increases it to 288 acres. And so these houses of cards are built."

In regard to this, and to Mr. Stevenson's reading the area of Wilburton as if they were not hides of *wara*, but only of their ordinary value, I have only to refer him to Mr. Maitland's letter at p. 391, *ante;* if he will not believe what he says, that 12 acres of *wara* appears on the Court Rolls of Wilburton as 24 acres in extent, I cannot help him, and he must equally disbelieve the Winstone case of 4 acres of *wara* meaning there 12 acres; but I will say this, that in every manor adjoining Wilburton the villains' hides are all hides of *wara*, that is, 240 acres (whatever that may mean) in extent, and that in the manor of Snailwell, which is close to Wilburton, though it does not actually adjoin it, the hide there is actually stated in Stewart's *Historia Eliensis*, p. 149, thus: "Coram his ergo testibus dedit Abbas Æthelstano pro sua parti de Eil unum prædium et unam hydam de duo decies xx acris"; and I do know, and always have known, that the villains' hides in every manor adjoining Wilburton are hides of *wara*, and that the expression, "duas hidas duodecies xx acrarum arabilium", applied to each of them, does not mean 2 hides of 120, but two hides each of 240, and the xx or xxiv (*à la* the Venerable) will bring the sum total to 2 hides of 288 each; that is, 240 with an *æcer mæl* of 48. At Wilburton the 10 acræ of *Inq. Eli* is, in the Survey of 1277, 12 acræ *de wara*, which in the Contemporaneous Court Rolls is "24 acræ *in communibus campis*", so all follows as in the "*delicious*" Ready Reckoner, *ante*, p. 258. See also *Domesday Book*, vol. i, p. 198*a*, col. 1; p. 242*b*, xxii; and p. 243*b*, Worces., col. 2. Also Robertson's *Historical Essays*, pp. 23, 27, 83.

O. C. Pell.

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